لما فسدت الخلافة فسد الاسلام وخسر المسلمون

The Khilafet

الخلافة



When the Khilafet was perverted Islam was corrupted and the Moslems were ruined And when the Khilafet will be reformed Islam will be purified and the Faithful will prosper.

ولما تصلح الخلافة يصلح الاسلام ويفلح المؤمنون

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M. Barakatullah

THE KHILAFET

BY

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FORE-WORD

THE little book now presented to the public is the result of earnest study of Islamic problems, with special reference to modern conditions. The author is known to a large circle of friends as a scholar of Islamic religion, history and literature. He spent eleven years in England, six years in the United States of America, five years in Japan, and a large portion of the last decade in Central Asia and Central Europe. He has twice travelled round the world. His views on the question of the Khilafat are not only based on historic considerations, but also on a close and personal observation of Islamic countries of the present day. In Ceylon, Malaya, Hongkong, Shanghai and Japan he is known personally as a competent scholar of Arabic and Islamic literature, and one whose absorbing passion is to see Islam restored to its old basis as a social, practical and democratic religion. There is a danger in treating the Khilafat question purely from a historic or political or narrow religious point of view. The author has attempted, while giving full weight to these points of view, to bring to bear upon them the experience of the Muslim nations of our own time. His desire is to influence Muslim public opinion to place the Khilafat on a true basis, and he proposes to issue the book in Arabic, Urdu, French and other Continental languages besides the English version now

presented. Opinions may differ as to the most effective means for welding the Muslim Brotherhood in these days of trial and difficulty, but the author's plea and arguments deserve respectful consideration. Let readers judge for themselves.

Abdullah Yusuf Ali.

EALING, ENGLAND
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AUGUST 17th 1924

Chapter I.

THE END OF KHILAFET IN THE OTTOMAN DYNASTY.

On Saturday, the first of March 1924 A.D., the 8th of Pisces, 1302, S.H., and the 26th of Rajeb, 1342, L.H. Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the president of the Angora Republic, proposed the abolition of the institution of Khilafet, the expulsion of the Khalifal family, and the confiscation of their property; on Monday the Grand National Assembly passed the bill by an overwhelming majority; and at two o'clock Tuesday morning the Vali of Constantinople and the Director-General of Public Security, accompanied by police, proceeded to the Dolma Bagcheh Palace, where they ordered the Khalif to seat himself upon the throne, whereupon the decree declaring his deposition was read. The Khalif was then commanded to descend from the throne and make arrangements for his immediate departure. An hour later, accompanied by his two wives and his son, he was conveyed by motor-car to Chatalja, where a special train was in readiness for his departure. Thus an institution hallowed with traditions of thirteen centuries, an embodiment of might and grandeur of the Orient in the eyes of European nations and a shield of defence for Islam during the last four hundred years, passed away as if in a twinkling of an eye. This edifice which looked as firm as a rock and promised to last as long as the world would last, was swept away by the flood of phenomena. Is the earth of faith shaken by a terrible shock, and are the mountains of beliefs crumbled to pieces and diffused in the air like dust? Such a terrible phenomenon, which would turn the current of the human history, is termed in the Quran, besides many appellations, «the stunning event» (c 1—1), which stupifies mankind, dissolves the bond of their union and sets
them asunder like scattered moths (c 1—4). 1

That the khilafet has come to an end in the House of Osman is a hard fact which cannot be gainsaid. It is of little use now to argue whether the Grand National Assembly of Angora has had an authority to destroy it root and branch or not. Yes, it is a duty incumbent upon those Moslems, who know and can show the right way, to suggest schemes that could ward off dangers that might arise out of abolition of the Khilafet. There are now some questions that demand attention. To ponder over them deeply and to find their proper solution from the point of view of the present circumstances of the Moslem world would be becoming the leaders of Islam. The first and the foremost question is: Were Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Grand National Assembly of Angora actuated by righteous motives and valid reasons, or were they simply prompted by the love of power and glory of self to expel the Khalif from the Turkish territory, usurp the reins of authority into their own hands and rule over the country by dictatorship?

THE REASONS FOR ABOLITION OF THE KHILAFET.

It is now over a century since the European nations took up the cause of the Christian subjects of Turkey and egged them on to rebellion such action having first weakened and finally resulted in the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. It was Greece that separated first from the dominions of the Sultan and became an independent state (1821). Rumania as well as Serbia followed suit and also acquired their independence. In the reign of the Sultan Abdul Aziz the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina revolted and Serbia declared war upon Turkey on their behalf. The great powers of Europe, thereupon, decided to frame a constitution for Turkey according to which she should govern the empire under their

tutelage like a semi-independent state. The patriotic Turks, whose leader was the celebrated Midhat Pasha, on the other hand, bethought themselves of making a constitution of their own in order to put an end thereby to the perennially cropping up of internal rebellion and external interference. They made up their minds to create an Imperial Parliament in which all elements of the nation without distinction of race or religion be represented and which could enact laws for the welfare of the whole empire. The education of all communities within the empire to be conducted on the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, so that in course of a generation or two there could arise a united and powerful Ottoman nation. Sultan Abdul Aziz was a despotic monarch. It was almost impossible to persuade him to limit his autocratic power and submit to the authority of the representatives of the nation. Midhat Pasha and his colleagues, therefore, found no other way to gain their desired end than by dethroning Sultan Abdul Aziz. In 1876 he was accordingly deposed and Sultan Murad V was installed on the throne of Turkey. It was, as the ill-luck had it, that the new Sultan through over-excitement and a succession of painful events became a prey to a prolonged illness. There, on the one side, were Midhat Pasha and his compatriots anxious to promulgate the national constitution with as much speed as possible, and on the other, were the representatives of the European powers arriving in Constantinople to frame a constitution for Turkey to suit their own designs. Meanwhile Prince Abdul-Hamid, having gauged the situation well, sent a message to Midhat Pasha to the effect that if he (Abdul-Hamid) were brought to the throne, he would at once proclaim the constitution of liberty and call the representatives of the nation to constitute the Imperial Ottoman Parliament. So after three months and three days' reign Sultan Murad was also dethroned and Sultan Abdul-Hamid was installed into his place. It was a curious

coincidence that the day the representatives of the great powers met for the first time in a conference in Constantinople to commence the work of drafting a constitution for Turkey, and were about to start business, they were, all of a sudden, startled by the boom of salvos of cannons proclaiming the constitution of liberty, equality and fraternity. When they were informed that the constitution promulgated by the Turks was by far the more liberal than they ever intended to design and had far-reaching effects for good, they were astonished at the ingenuity of the Turks, who so cleverly stole a march upon them. The Russian Ambassador was especially filled with rage and indignation and it was a signal for war preparations in Russia against Turkey. In Turkey it was a day of rejoicing, as they thought that it was the beginning of an era of progress and prosperity, of constitutional government and of parliamentary regime. Sultan Abdul-Hamid, moreover, endeared himself to the people by graceful acts, by condescending to appear before the public in parks and gardens and by going to a new Mosque every Friday for Selamlik. Little did the nation know what troubles and trials were in store for them in the near future at the hand of the same Sultan Abdul-Hamid, whom they welcomed with so much genuine cordiality.

In 1877, Russia declared war upon Turkey, which afforded Sultan Abdul-Hamid II a singular opportunity to become autocratic and establish a reign of terror. It was either by a mischance or through a strategical move on the part of the Turkish commander-in-chief, that the Russian troops crossed the river Danube and entered into the Ottoman territory. The Sultan found an excuse and dismissed Abdul-Kareem Pasha from the general command of the armies in the field. Mohammed Ali Pasha, whom the Sultan appointed as a successor to Abdul-Kareem, was of German descent but a convert to Islam and a man of great ability and character. According to the statement of one, who was with Mohammed Ali Pasha during

that campaign and who is fortunately still with us, the new commander-in-chief planned a most extraordinary feat of strategy to effect the capture of the Russian army on the Turkish side of the river Danube including the Tsar and the imperial family who were with the army. Mohammed Ali Pasha accordingly sent orders to Osman Pasha, who was at Plevna, and to Sulieman Pasha, who was at Shibka, to move with him simultaneously and join him in besieging the Russian troops from all sides with the river on their back. The plan was so clever and far reaching that there was hardly any chance for the Russians to escape capture. According to the established custom of governments that the head of the state must be informed daily of what takes place on the battlefield and of some unusual move that may be in contemplation, the plan, almost completed for execution, was disclosed to the Sultan. Abdul-Hamid was filled with terror and trembled with fear when he realized the extent of the stupendous scheme. He pictured to his mind the arrogance of the military leaders, who were already king-makers by deposing two Sultans and installing the third one in a brief time of three months, if they were to capture the Russian army including the Tsar and the membres of the imperial family. They would, thought Abdul-Hamid, reduce him to nonentity without a shadow of doubt. So an order was at once wired to Mohammed Ali Pasha to the effect that the conduct of the war would be administered from the Palace and that Osman Pasha and Sulieman Pasha were not under the command of Mohammed Ali Pasha any longer. Meanwhile Osman Pasha and Sulieman Pasha received strict orders not to move at all from their places. At the same time the brother-in-law of the Sultan, who was hand in glove with the Russians, informed them of the dangerous plan of Mohammed Ali Pasha. The Russian government thereupon implored Rumania in the name of common Christianity to intervene in their behalf. The Rumanian intervention changed the whole disposition of the war. The

Turkish army — one of the best according to the standard of the time — was divided into three parts, each out of touch with the others, and each was destroyed separately. The siege of Plevna and its heroic defence by Osman Pasha; the extraordinary sacrifices by the brave Ottoman warriors and the wonderful stand of Sulieman Pasha at Shibka; and the dictation of humiliating terms of peace by Russia to Turkey at San Stefano, are well known historical facts fully described in details. That crushing defeat dealt a serious blow to the vitals of the Ottoman empire, from the paralyzing effect of which it never recovered afterwards. But the same defeat gave Abdul-Hamid a great opportunity to establish the despotism and reign of terror, which stalked over the length and breadth of the empire with ruthless tyranny for thirty years with impunity. During the progress of the war he prorogued the parliament, which was only brought again into being in 1908, after thirty years' suspension. Abdul-Hamid did not permit any of the leaders of the 1876 revolution to escape his vengeance, but picked them out one by one — exiled some, confined others into dungeons but butchered in cold-blood all the prominent reformers mercilessly. He was a tyrant of the first magnitude, who would not discriminate between the innocent and the guilty, if they only happened to utter the word of «liberty», «constitution», «parliament», or such like, but would send them down whirling into the bottom of the sea of Marmara or Bosphorus with a heavy stone tied to their necks. The number of victims of his monstrosity would reach thousands from among the flower and cream of the Turkish culture and enlightenment. He was an enemy of progress, liberty and reform. His reign with its blighting influence upon Turkey coincided with the marvellous advancement of sciences and wonderful discoveries in the civilized world while nations like Germany, Italy and Japan made great strides and became mighty. In the year 1900 Damad Mahmood Pasha had come to

London and by his inspiration a Persian poem was written expressing the sentiments of the Turks towards Abdul-Hamid. A line will suffice for a sample: «It was the day of calamity, the day of calling out to one another in distress, to the Moslem world, when the man of destiny, Abdul-Hamid II ascended the throne of Sultan Yarvooz Seleem».

If one were to say that as far as Abdul-Mejid effendi, the ex-Khalif is concerned, it is universally admitted that he is a man of noble character, of enlightened mind, patriotic and religious; the partisans of Mustapha Kemal Pasha could easily reply to it saying that the Sultan Abdul-Hamid was also sincere and patriotic when he came to the throne. But when he acquired the reins of absolute power into his hand, and the control of the national treasury and of the great army, then came a change in his disposition: «To drink deep and keep sober is not, after all, so difficult; If you come into possession of fortune and power and be not intoxicated, then, you are really a man.»

If the Moslems, who were far from the centre of the Khilafet and revered the Khalif as the successor of the holy Prophet, would argue by protesting the fact that there was no harm in limiting the power of the Sultan by law, as Islam itself did not permit despotism and unbounded power to be possessed by any ruler and that in that case the limited monarchy would have preserved the traditional dignity and grandeur of the sacred post, while the Sultan, on the other hand, would have been incapable of doing harm to any one at all, and that there was a striking illustration of the contention in the person of the king of England, who presided over the government of a unique empire in extent of territory and number of its population, but owing to limitation of his powers was unable to do harm to anybody. Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Grand National Assembly of Angora in order to confute the above seemingly sound reasoning,

could, without experiencing compunction in the least degree, point out the fact that the suggested alternative had been given ample time and scope to work out its efficacy in Turkey, but unfortunately in the case of the princes of the Osmanli dynasty it failed signally. For example, when Sultan Abdul-Hamid was obliged to restore the national constitution after the July revolution of 1908, the long suffering Turkish nation forgave his past inequities saying: «let bye-gones be bye-gone». But he never ceased to intrigue in his effort to subvert the constitution and re-establish despotism. Through ignorant Softas he manoeuvred his secret reactionary propaganda among the imperial guards in Constantinople who mutinied on the 13th April 1909, only six months after the restoration of the constitution. For a week the capital was in the hands of the lawless soldiery. Had Mahmood Shevket Pasha, who reached Constantinople by forced marches at the head of troops of liberty, not deposed Sultan Abdul-Hamid and placed Sultan Mahomed Reschad on the throne, the fate of the reform party of Turkey was sealed, and what terrible calamities would have ensued, no one could venture to imagine!

If it were to be pleaded that perhaps it was the peculiarity of Abdul-Hamid's depravity of nature that was prone to despotism, tyranny and bloodshed, but that other Sultans were not necessarily so. Take for example Sultan Mahomed Reschad, who was an ideal constitutional monarch. So why should to the innocent be meted out the desert of the guilty? The Kemalists may explain the reason of their sweeping action thus. It was not always, they might say, that mischief proceeded from Sultans only, but rather the very existence of the spiritual and temporal authority in one person puts a premium upon despotism, tyranny and abuse, either by the sovereign himself, or by his ministers in virtue of that authority. So for instance in 1912, when Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha became prime minister of Turkey, Kiamil Pasha, who was the

life and soul of the ministry, subverted the constitution, suspended the parliament, created a council of the empire consisting of the princes of blood royal, nobility and senators, and dismissed the troops garrisoning Adrianople at the suggestion of Sir Edward Grey, the then Foreign Secretary of England, thus courting an attack by the combined Balkan states, which resulted in the loss of the European provinces of Turkey — all this was done by Kiamil Pasha, Sultan Mohamed Reschad's and Amed Mukhtar Pasha's presence notwithstanding.

It was not uncommon that a good Sultan was succeeded by one who was quite the reverse. The successor of Sultan Mohamed Reschad was Sultan Wahiduddin, who even in the war time was inclined to favour the enemies of his country. And when the armies of the allies occupied Constantinople after the armistice, the Sultan co-operated with the enemies of Turkey exiling the patriotic Turks to Malta. He declared Mustapha Kemal Pasha, who wrought miracles by organizing the yeomen of Anatolia into an efficient army and by creating a government of the representatives of the people, an outlaw and left no stone unturned to destroy the Angora government. From 1919 to 1922, the period of occupation of Constantinople by the allied troops, the Sultan's government had neither any revenue nor an army, and he was for all practical purposes a prisoner, still his political intrigues never ceased and he never thought for a moment to reconcile himself with the Angora government. When the Angora government sent delegates to negotiate peace with the Greeks in London in 1921, the representatives of the Sultan also came there to interfere. And when in 1922 the Turkish soldiers performed heroic and extraordinary feats of arms, smote the superior forces of the Greeks hip and thigh and drove them, so to speak, into the sea, and the preparations for the Lausanne Conference were being made, Sultan Wahiduddin was again astir making intrigues to interpose and create difficulties in

the working of the machinery of peace. Well, there is a limit to all human patience. The worm turned at last, and the Grand National Assembly of Angora separated the khilafet from the sultanet abolishing the latter from the Turkish constitution. Sultan Wahiduddin fled on board a British ship from Turkey to Mecca and thence to Italy. But, he, however, continued to entertain his pretensions to Sultanet as well as to Khilafet and his opposition to the Angora government.

In order to gauge aright the abnormal psychology of the men, who hold the reins of the Turkish government in their hands to-day, it would be necessary to keep the following facts in view. There has been going on an incessant struggle between despotism and liberty for fifty years in Turkey. The Turks never have had peace in their country since the revolution of 1908. Besides the enormous loss of life and property, they lost three fourths of their empire in spite of all their sacrifices. They were subjected to internal as well as to external intrigues. Their fertile land — the very paradise of nature — was desolated by the fire and sword of the Greeks in retreat. As the aftermath of war, there exist to-day misery, poverty and unemployment on an unprecedented scale throughout the land. These are the tragic conditions in which the rulers of Turkey live, move and have their being to-day. At such a delicate tension of mind, General Harrington, the commander of the allied troops occupying Constantinople, pays a farewell visit to the Khalif; the Indian press starts an agitation for the maintenance of the dignity of the Khalif; some Indians pay personal homage to the Khalif without the permission of the Angora authorities; and the last, but not the least, the copy of the joint letter of the Agha Khan and Mr. Ameer Ali to Ismet Pasha, the Prime Minister of Turkey, is published in the Turkish press before the original reaches its destination. Is there any wonder, if in such circumstances a mind wrought up by suspicion to the highest pitch should

adopt most extreme measures to get rid of all anxiety and uncertainty?

Sacrifices of all kinds in all countries and at all times have been the outward expression of the inner conviction. The very same Turks, who in centuries gone-by used to lay down their lives at the smallest gesture of condescension on the part of the Sultan-Khalif, exile him in the early hours of morning out of Turkish territory with bag and baggage without feeling any concern about his fate abroad. To mention the name of the Khalif in Turkey to-day is considered as treason by the law enacted by the representatives of the Turkish nation. How strange the contrast is! How did this change of mind come about? There is no way to explain this swing of the pendulum from one extremity to the other but by recognizing the troubles and trials through which the patriotic Turks from Midhat Pasha down to Mustapha Kemal Pasha had to pass during the last fifty years and which have brought about this change of mind. The terrible event which took place in our time was quite possible of accomplishment in the days of Midhat Pasha, too. It is said of Husain Auni that he was a man of the Napoleonic type and wanted to put to the sword all the members of the royal family of Osman, believing them to be incorrigible. But Midhat Pasha and his other colleagues were not of that conviction. Hence the tragic drama was suffered to run its course on the political stage of Turkey for half a century longer. To-day it seems that the majority of the members of the Grand National Assembly of Angora are after Husain Auni's heart. It is no small matter of satisfaction, however, that this great event in the history of mankind took place accompanied with no bloodshed and civil war. The action of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha in this age resembles the action of Sultan Salahuddin Ayyubi about seven hundred years ago (1171) who had put an end to the Khilafet in the house of Fatimeh — the daughter of the Prophet — in Egypt by more crude methods than

the present ones employed by the Grand National Assembly of Angora. The Moslem world did not forget the great services rendered by Sultan Salahuddin to Islam in crusade wars in spite of his abolition of the Fatimite Khilafet, so will it not forget the great services of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the abolition of the Ottoman Khilafet notwithstanding.

There are, however, some people, who have gone through the world with their eyes and ears shut and gained naught through experiences of years save compound ignorance. They advocate a boycott of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Republic of Angora socially and economically for the abolition of the Khilafet. This kind of foolish advice of the ignorant wiseacres, if acted upon, would lead to further widening of the already wide schism in Islam besides possible dangers to peace and independence of the Orient. It is time that the enlightened Moslems the world over should concert measures with foresight and wide view to solve the question of Khilafet in the light of promoting the unity of Islam and the safety of mankind. The struggle for existence is common to individuals as well as to nations: «Thou art endowed with light of wisdom from on high; be not, therefore, helpless like dumb animals. Whatever is possible for others is possible for thee, too.»

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Chapter II.

THE ORIGIN OF THE KHILAFET.

In the year six hundred and ten of the Christian era (610) Mohammad the son of Abdullah the son of Abdul-Muttalib of the tribe of the Quriesh of Mecca, Arabia, took up the post of Divine Messenger commissioned by revelation to preach the religion of Islam to all mankind. He delivered the Divine Message to his friends and acquaintances for three years in private meetings held secretly for the purpose. But later on by the invitation and cooperation of some leading men of Mecca, like Abubeker and Omar, he began to preach and deliver the Message to the people at large, openly, and in public gatherings. In those thirteen years his life, like the lives of other Meccans, was regulated by the laws of the land and the etiquettes of the society. He was, so to speak, not yet called upon to regulate the affairs of his followers in an organized form politically and economically. All his time, energy and care were confined to delivering the Divine Message to mankind. But, when after thirteen years' preaching in Mecca, he emigrated to Medina, his personality at once acquired two aspects by change of circumstances. In Mecca he was a spiritual leader only, but on his arrival at Medina he became a temporal leader as well. On account of the coming into being of a community of Islam at the latter place, he had by force of circumstances to provide means and devise plans for their safety, prosperity and progress. In addition to the spiritual duties he had then also to perform the material obligations as well. With the worship of God he had to serve humanity, too. Thus for another period of ten years he discharged this double function at Medina. He preached himself from the pulpit of his Mosque in the new capital of Islam and sent his missionaries throughout the length and breadth of the Arabian peninsula to deliver the

Divine Message. He defended the at first weak but fast growing Commonwelth of the Faithful by leading armies in person to battle-fields and by sending expeditions under his trusted followers to ward off attacks of the enemies, who wanted to nip the new movement in the bud. Thus through the sword of eloquence he conquered the hearts of the Arab nation and through defensive measures he removed all the obstacles from the path of progress. So he had the satisfaction of seeing the whole of Arabia under the spiritual and temporal sway of Islam before his demise in the year 632 of the common era.

After the death of the Prophet, his disciples met at the *Saquifa of Beni Saa-i-deh* and discussed the question of succession or *khilafet.* Some of the *Auxiliaries* of Medina raised a racial point by saying «let there be a chief elected from among us (Ansar = Auxiliaries) and another chief from among you (Mohajireen = Fugitives)», but by the eloquence of Abubeker, however, it was unanimously decided to elect one successor to the Prophet. It was pointed out that Islam came to unite all the tribes of mankind into spiritual brotherhood; therefore, there should be one chief over the Moslem world. As the *Mohajireen* were first to enter into the fold of Islam and consequently had more knowledge and experience of it, therefore, the rulers should be elected from them, while the counsellors be elected from the Ansar. So Abubeker was elected as the first Khalif and obeyed in Medina, Mecca and the provinces of Arabia. Ali the son of Abu Talib and the husband of the daughter of the Prophet, Fatimeh, who attending upon the holy mortal remains of the Prophet was not present at the *Saquifeh*, did not, however, take the oath of fidelity to Abubeker and confined himself to his own house for above six months. (This proved to be an ill-omen at the very commencement of the Khilafet.) The reign of the first Khalif was of two years'duration only. On his death-bed he recommended Omar, the son of El-Khattab, to the companions of the Prophet to be

elected and installed into the sacred post of the Khalif. The second Khalif, after a glorious reign of ten years marked with unparallelled conquests of vast dominions and firm intrepid virtue and justice in administration, succumbed to the mortal wound received at the hand of an assassin 644 a. d. Osman, the son of Affan, was the third Khalif who reigned for 12 years, was deposed and killed in 656 a. d. Ali, the son of Abu Talib, was the fourth Khalif, who reigned for about five years and was martyred on January 21st, 661 a. d. The last ten years of the Prophet's life (A. D. 622—632) and the thirty years of his immediate successors' reign (A. D. 632—660) are esteemed by the Sunnites as the golden age of Islam. The foundation of their temporal government was the service of humanity and the object of their constant care was the public weal. The altruism of the Prophet in particular had attained the maximum love for humanity: «Certainly an Apostle has come to you from among yourselves; grievous to him is your falling into distress, excessively solicitous respecting you; to the believers (he is) the most compassinate, the most merciful.» (Q. x. 128.)

SPIRITUAL ORGANIZATION.

Islam from the spiritual point of view is the name of a certain creed and of a certain system of organization. The Islamic creed is contained in the following verse of the second chapter of the Quran: «The Apostle believes in what has been revealed to him from his Lord, and (so do) the believers; they all believe in Allah and His angels and His books and His apostles; (saying) we make no difference between any of His apostles; and they say we hear and obey.» (Q. II. 285.)

Allah. In regard to the essence of Allah the Quran says: «there is nothing like unto Him» (Q. LII. 11) namely He is transcendental. Material particulars can be perceived

by outer senses; abstract particulars can be conceived by inner senses; while general or universal ideas can be comprehended by reasoning faculty; but the Divine essence is above senses and beyond the reach of reason. His attributes, no doubt, are manifest in the whole universe, to which the first chapter of the Quran refers: «Praise be to Allah the bestower of life, sustenance and continuity to all the worlds, whose mercy is all-embracing, whose grace is extended to all the deserving; the day of the establishment of whose kingdom on earth will come to be sure, when the true religion will prevail all over the world.» (Q. I. 1.)

Angels. The belief in the angels signifies the fact that Allah is as much the sustainer of the spiritual world as He is the sustainer of the material universe.

Divine books. Since the appearance of man on the face of the earth God out of His mercy has revealed from time to time books for the guidance of humanity to the right path: «there has been revealed a book for every cycle». (Q. XIII. 38.)

Apostles. When nations of the earth went astray, God sent His apostles from time to time to bring them back to the right path: «there has been sent a guide to every nation» (Q. XII. 7) and: «there is not a people but a warner has gone among them.» (Q. XXXV. 24.) As Islam has come to bring about union and concord among all the tribes of mankind, it is, therefore, necessary that the Moslems must revere all the messengers of God and accept all the revealed books, as they revere their own Prophet and accept the Quran. On this basis alone can peace on earth and goodwill to all men be one day realized; for all religions teach the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man: «I have said, ye are gods; and all of you are children of the most high.» (Psalm LXXXII. 6.) The Quran invites mankind to the universal peace and brotherhood of man: «O ye, who believe (belonging to all religions of the world) enter into peace universally or into the universal

peace, and do not follow in the foot-steps of the devil (by quarrelling, fighting, robbing, oppressing and annoying one another); for surely he is your open enemy.» (Q. II. 204.) Here is a solemn proposal for the League of Religions to come together, compare notes, make conventions of safety of life, security of property and sanctity of honour for all individuals and communities the world over.

The Unity of God is the first and foremost article in the creed of Islam. The Quran is replete with admonitions against believing in «gods many and lords many» and with injunctions to believe in «the unity of the Deity». But little attention, especially among the Islamic institutions of learning, has been paid to the original significance and object of the word, *Ilah*. In ancient times everywhere and in our time in backward communities, the temporal as well as the spiritual power was centred in one individual. He was believed to be the incarnation of the Deity. He was worshipped by the populace as God Almighty. His statues and portraits were the object of adoration and worship, too. He had the power of life and death in the hollow of his hand. His prerogatives knew no bounds. The deification of the emperors in ancient Rome and apotheosis of Mikadoes in the Japan of our time are familiar instances. The *Lamas* of Tibet are worshipped as the incarnation of Buddha and stupendous statues of Buddha in Japan and northern and southern countries of Asia are adored and worshipped. The word *But*, so common in Islamic literature, was the corruption of *Buddh*. The Pharaoh of Moses' time was also worshipped as *Ilah* or god, and when the latter rejected the pretensions to godhead of the former and confined that attribute to the ruler of the universe only, Pharaoh burst forth into an angry threat to Moses saying: «If thou takest a god besides me, I will most certainly make thee one of the confined in a dungeon.» (Q. XXVI. 29.) Similarly in the time of Mohammad the

statues of kings and imaginary godesses were worshipped and were the means of priestly despotic sway upon the life and property of the people: «Hast thou not observed him who disputed with Abraham about his Lord because Allah had given him the kingdom. When Abraham said, my Lord is He who giveth life and causeth to die, he said, I give life and cause death.» (Q. II. 258.) When the good word: «*there is no God but Allah*» was revealed, it abolished first the despotism of the kings — their unlimited power over the lives and property of the people, and also the autocratic control of the priests over the soul and possession of the laity; and prohibited secondly the worship of gods many and lords many, whether kings, prophets or idols. So the negative part namely: «*there is no god*» does away with the despotism of the temporal rulers as well as the autocracy of the spiritual leaders, while the positive part namely: «*but Allah*» affirms the exclusive authority of the creator of the universe and devotion to His will, which is revealed in all religious books and which is the fountain-head of civilization, morality and enlightenment in the human world. The repetition of the sacred formula five times daily in the call of the *Moazzin* as well as at the commencement of prayer emphasizes the fact that though the spiritual and temporal organizations were also united in Islam, yet the rulers were in reality the servants of the people and not gods to be worshipped and not lords to be obeyed absolutely. It was Allah alone who was worthy to be worshipped and whose commands to be obeyed. As Allah was not a visible personality and as His commands were revealed through His apostles to mankind from time to time, so to recognise His godhead meant to obey His commands.

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CHAPTER III.

THE PRACTICAL PART OF THE SPIRITUAL ORGANIZATION.

The spiritual organization of Islam is regulated by a peculiar mode of worship, which is called in the Quran «*Salat*» or devotion. Its other name is «*Jamaet*» or congregation. It indicates that the foundation of religious life in Islam is laid down on organization and union. In spite of individual freedom the faithful are linked together by the thread of spiritual brotherhood. They are not disconnected and loose like sands on a seashore. «Be united like the Pleiades and ascend unto endless heights of heaven. Be scattered like the particles of dust and lie low on the face of the earth.»

The regulation and organization are simple. Wherever more than one Moslem happen to be, they have to chose at the appointed time of prayer one who is more learned or elder and make him the «*Imam*» or leader to perform the prescribed function of devotion. Hence in every division of a Moslem village, town and city an edifice of Mosque constitutes a visible sign of spiritual union. On his arrival in Medina, the Prophet immediately built a Mosque and the Khalif Omar built fourteen hundred Mosques in his reign of ten years. The Mosque in every Moslem locality is the place of daily meeting of the Faithful. The capital Mosque of a city is the central point where the town-folks assemble every Friday-noon to hear the news of the Moslem world or some advice from the centre of Khilafet from the «*menber*» or the pulpit. On occasions of the two yearly festivals there is a larger concourse of people, who come from near and far to renew acquaintances and receive instructions from the commander of the Faithful. It is incumbent upon those believers, who can afford the means of travelling, to

visit the holy cities of Mecca and Medina once in a lifetime, join the congregation of the brethren in the Faith from all parts of the Moslem-world at the plain of *Arafat* and receive spiritual lessons from the sermon of the *Ameerul-Hajj* or the leader of the pilgrimage.

This spiritual organization or in the Christian phraseology, sacerdotal system, is connected with the institution of the Khilafet. For example in the ninth year of Hegira the Prophet had sent Abubeker to Mecca as the chief over the pilgrims and Ali the son of Abu Talib as an ambassador to announce on the plain of Arafat to the multitudes at large that the treaty of peace that was concluded between the tribe of Qureish of Mecca and the Moslem government of Medina for ten years was no more effective because the Qureish broke the terms of the treaty: «(This is a declaration of) immunity by God and His Apostle towards those of the idolaters with whom you made the treaty.» (Q. IX. I.) «(How can there be an engagement for the idolaters with God and His Apostle) while if they prevail against you, they would not pay any regard in your case to ties of relationship nor those of convenant?» (Q. IX. 7.)

In order to maintain this spiritual union, the Faithful are enjoined to hold communion with the Deity in congregation. Hence the plural words are used in adressing to the Deity: «*We worship*», «*we ask assistance*», «*lead us to the right path*». As the Khilafet alone can keep all the tribes of Islam scattered on the face of the earth linked together by the spiritual tie, the tradition of the Prophet narrated by «El-Bokhari» and «El-Muslim» in their collections, acquires an unusual importance: «He, who dies without allegiance, dies the death of ignorance.» In other words any man who does not make his allegiance with the Khalif of the time and does not live as a member of the spiritual brotherhood, his life is like the lives of those people who were in the days of ignorance before the advent of Islam, and when he dies, he dies like those

who died before the light of Islam came. Such people did not partake of the blessings of Islamic dispensation. «God's hand protects the union and he, who goes out of the union, falls into the bottomless pit,» says the Prophet. «And whoever acts hostilely to the Apostle after the guidance has become manifest to him, and *follows other than the way of the believers*, we will let him have what he has chosen for himself and make him enter hell.» (Q. v. 115.) says the Quran. As to the real meaning of *hell*, *painful punishment*, or *fire*, etc. used in the Quran or traditions of the Prophet on such occasions, we had better consult the Quran itself about it. The following verse in the ninth chapter interprets the *painful* punishment by *loss of independence*, or *calamity of subjugation of a country and enslavement of a nation*. «If you do not go forth (to the battle-field to defend the community and country against the ravages of raids), He will chastise you with a painful punishment and *bring in your place a people other than you*» (Q. IX. 39.). Is there any punishment to a nation greater than its becoming a subject race instead of its being a free and independent people?

From the above description it will become clear that the Prophet, when he was only a spiritual leader in Mecca for thirteen years, performed two functions. (1) He called the people to accept the creed mentioned in the second chapter of the Quran and generally enjoined what was good and forbade what was evil. (2) Through religious services in congregation and preaching to the Faithful from the *Menber* or pulpit he nourished them spiritually and helped them to grow in number and in wisdom. Thus he delivered the Divine Message entrusted to him, on which repeated stress is laid in the Quran. So the spiritual leadership amounted to the service of humanity spiritually and religiously. Even before he was *called*, the son of Abdullah was a benefactor of mankind. His faithful wife, who was his guardian angel at the commencement of his ministry, while consoling him on his

first experience of revelation and fear of harm coming to him thereby, uttered the memorable words, which stand out as an undying testimony to the beneficent nature of the Prophet and his zeal in early life to succour humanity in distress: «*God will never disgrace thee*, said she, *for thou extendest hospitality to guests; givest a helping hand to the distressed under their burden; earnest for those, who have nothing, and assistest those, who suffer for the sake of truth.*» Abu-Talib, the uncle of the Prophet, though he died on the religion of his forefathers, composed a poem eulogising the virtues of purity, humanity and spirituality of his nephew, Mohammad: «(He is) handsome, pure and godly, whose face people make to intercede with Heaven for sending to them clouds bearing rain at the time of drought. (He is) guardian of orphans and the protector of widows' chastity.»

Abubeker, Omar the son of El Khattab and Ali, the son of Abu Talib, were Khalifs, who followed in the Prophet's foot-steps faithfully. Their spiritual government was also identical with the service of the people. It is related that Fatimeh, the wife of Ali and the daughter of the Prophet, after her father's death, was displeased with the first Khalif owing to the arrangement of the Khilafet having been made without consultation with her husband and because she had been deprived of her inherited landed property in Fadak. So when she used to see Abubeker, she used to turn her face away from him. But Abubeker, on the other hand, used to carry grains allotted to Fatimeh on his own shoulders to her house. As to the virtues and sublime characters of Omar and Ali, volumes are written about them. It is not intended here to lay any stress on their simple life, disregard for the worldly pomp, and self-control, but it is our purpose here rather to show that the foundation and the object of their government were the service and welfare of the people. Neither in thought, word nor deed they ever showed that they were infallible or claimed absolute

obedience of their subjects. The hierarchy of Islam is not like that of the Roman Church founded on the infallibility of the Pope, the remission of sin and the absolute submission of the flock. Somebody asked Abubeker what kind of vegetable «*Abban*» (Q. LXXX. 31.) mentioned in the Quran was. As he did not know it, he said: «which heaven would shelter over me and which earth would sustain me, if I were to say what I knew not concerning the book of God?»

Osman, the son of Affan, the third Khalif was one of those who formed the very first band of Islam. He had the honour of marrying two daughters of the Prophet, one after the other. He himself was an upright man. But there occurred some irregularities in his reign, which afforded a cause for criticism to the people. There were reasons for it. (1) He took the reins of government in his hand at a time when the Moslems had become affluent in all kinds of good things of this world owing to great conquests of dominions in the reign of his predecessor and luxury had its effect on the morals of the new generation. (2) The companions of the Prophet, who bore the brunt of hardship in laying the foundation of the Faith, were most of them consumed by the wars. (3) The Khalif was a man of eighty. (4) It is said of him that he read the whole of the Quran daily. One, therefore, can easily understand that there was no wonder if ambitous men like Mervan, the son of Hakam, got control over the administration of governmental affairs and caused widespread discontent among the people. The people rose against the Khalif, because, out of his kind nature, he shielded the mischief-makers. He was deposed and killed. His assassination was the source of great calamities that wrought havoc on the world of Islam. When he was besieged in his house, he addressed the people from over the wall and advanced the proofs of his innocence. Hence it is unanimously accepted among the Sunnites that Osman should be included among the Orthodox Khalifs of Islam.

THE BASIS OF THE TEMPORAL GOVERNMENT.

(peace be on him)

In the thirteenth year of his ministry, Mohammad, the son of Abdullah, left Mecca as a fugitive to find an asylum in Medina, because the chieftains of the Qureish-tribes had definitely organized a conspiracy to assassinate him, while the chieftains of Medina had sworn the oath of fidelity to him near a hillock in the vicinity of Mecca two years previously accepting him to be their spiritual guide and temporal sovereign. So when he arrived in Medina he was welcomed by the people with royal honours. On all sides of his cavalcade crowds of happy and enthusiastic people were singing loudly in chorus: «The full moon has arisen on us from the hillocks of Farewell. We have, therefore, to thank God so long as there would remain one in the world to call upon Him.» Immediately on his arrival in Medina the Prophet had to codify the rules of practical philosophy and set up the regulations of household economy and the laws of governmental administration. The Faithful, who were scattered over different parts of the land through persecution began to be drawn from far and nigh to the new centripetal focus of Islam. These fugitive followers of the Prophet had already lost whatever they possessed of land, property and money for the sake of their religion. The coming together of such men without means in Medina just after the flight of the Prophet created a great economic problem, which demanded immediate solution. Presently the Prophet introduced the communistic principles among the Fugitives of Mecca and the Auxiliaries of Medina, which were practiced by the former founders of religions under similar circumstances. He gave it the name of «*Fraternity*». The original inhabitants of Medina were agriculturists and were blessed with plenty. He coupled one Mohajir (fugitive) with one of the Ansar (auxiliaries) with the rights and obligations of brethren. The scheme was practiced successfully in the spirit of fidelity and sacrifice. The story of fraternal bond between

Abdur-Rahman the son of Auf and Saad the son of Rabie constitutes a memorable instance of the zeal, which characterised the practice of making property common among the brethren of the Faith on the part of the Medinites in the early days of Hegira. The Prophet was sitting one day in the Mosque and Saad was present on the occasion, there suddenly came in Abdur-Rahman directly from his journey. The Prophet coupled Abdur-Rahman with Saad in fraternal bond. The latter took the former to his house, and, dividing all his property into two equal parts and asking his two wives to stand each by one portion, called Abdur-Rahman in and requested him to choose any of the two divisions as well as one of the two women, whom he would divorce there and then for him to marry her. Abdur-Rahman blessed Saad's family and property and asked him to introduce him into the business circles there as the former was an expert and could negotiate business between buyers and sellers, and became well-to-do in a short time and married.

Had the companions of the Prophet, like the disciples of Jesus, been mere preachers of scripture and deliverers of the Divine Message, the principle of property being common among the brethren would have continued in practice for a long time among the early Moslems as it did for three hundred years among the early Christian Fathers. But as the Qureishites of Mecca were not pleased with the Prophet's escaping safely to Medina and his establishing a community daily gathering momentum there; and as the little organization of the Faithful, surrounded by the enemies and their sympathizers within and without Medina, had no peace of mind, being oppressed day and night by the spectre of attack by their erstwhile persecutors of Mecca, the Prophet naturally had to procure means of protection for the weak and make preparations for any contingencies. For the Qureish had openly taken hostile measures against the Prophet and

were practically at war with him. In plain words he had to establish a secular government. To maintain law and order in the land, to decide the cases of civil and criminal disputes by legal means, and to protect the country against the attacks of enemies depends upon the organization of police, of courts of justice and of an army. To bring organizations into being and keep them going is dependent upon the regular income that could meet the requirements of various departments of the government. Hence it became necessary that the commonwealth of Islam, too, should have fiscal laws regulating taxes on land, cattle, property and income. The code of taxes in the idiom of the Quran is called «*Zakat*» (purity), because the property and riches of those who pay these taxes either grow in grace according to one meaning or become pure from stinginess after paying the duty on them according to another meaning. It is also called «*Sadaqah*» from Sidq meaning truth, because those who pay it are true to their obligations. So all the revenue collected according to this law was kept in the public treasury which was a permanent public fund to meet national needs and contingencies. It was not intended to become the property of kings and to be spent according to their own sweet will.

Although commonly speaking the practical part of Islam consists of four precepts: (1) *Salat* (prayer), (2) *Zakat* (alms), (3) *Saom* (fasting), (4) *Hajj* (pilgrimage); but the first two are the essential and the second two are complemental; for *salat* or congregation is the basis of the spiritual government and *saom* or fasting involving self mortification and begetting sympathy for the suffering humanity completes the spiritual organization. Similary *zakat* or alms is the basis of the secular government and *hajj* or pilgrimage, affording a local centre of attraction to all tribes of Islam, manifesting equality, liberty, fraternity and democracy of the Faithful, and keeping the

 Islamic world in touch with one another religiously, poli-

tically and economically, completes the structure of the temporal organization.

As the Prophet possessed in his personality the double authority of the spiritual and the temporal leadership, so also did the Orthodox Khalifs. When the Prophet and the Khalifs led the congregation in prayer and delivered sermons they performed the spiritual functions and when they decided the cases of disputants, distributed money among the people or led the armies into the battle-fields, they performed their secular duties. Of course, they used to perform both of their duties with equal care, seriousness, sincerity and devotion. Hence their subjects, too, obeyed their orders whether pertaining to the spiritual or secular domain, with equal attention, enthusiasm, devotion and reverence.

Government whether spiritual or secular, is really the essence of organization and of execution of orders. Consequently the constitution of both governments is laid down in one verse of the Quran: «Obey God, and obey the Apostle and those, who hold governmental authority from amongst you.» (Q. IV. 59.) Obedience to God, as pointed out above, means obedience to His will revealed to mankind by His messengers, which is the fountainhead of civilization, progress and enlightenment. Obedience to the Prophet and his successors means the maintenance of both the spiritual and the temporal organizations of Islam. As the orders mentioned in the Quran are as a rule general principles, while in the administration of governmental departments and the decision of cases particular deductions are required; the constitution of the Islamic government was made upon the basis of consultation: «and their rule (for the administration of the secular as well as the spiritual affairs of the Islamic world is) consultation among themselves.» (Q. XLII. 38.) The consultation affords a large scope of utilizing the skill, experience and knowledge of every member of the community on new questions arising afresh in every gene-

ration and thus keeping up the spirit of progress in culture, civilization and enlightenment. So the precept of mutual consultation constitutes the republican form of Islamic government and obedience to the commands of the holders of the governmental authority delegated by the nation is the only and practical way of conducting the affairs of a commonwealth. Consultation is the manifestation of liberty, equality and fraternity, while obedience to the rulers is the cohesive force that maintains unity of multiplicity of individuals and communities for the purpose of self-preservation against possible dangers.

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Chapter IV.

THE NATIONAL FUND TO SUPPORT THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The following verse of the Quran lays down rules for the expenditure of the public funds accumulated through payment of *Zakat*, involving governmental organization, linking together the members of the community, and keeping in touch various commonwealths of Islam: «Verily the *Sadaqat* (alms) are for the poor and the needy, and the officials (appointed) over them, and for those, whose hearts are tranquillized (thereby), and (to be spent) in (ransoming of) the captives, and (in helping out) the debtors, and in the way of Allah and the wayfarer: an ordinance from Allah.» (Q. IX. 60.)

1. *The poor:* The Quran defines the *poor* in the following verse: «(Alms are) for the poor who are confined in the way of God — they cannot go about in the land, the ignorant man thinks them to be rich on account of (their) abstaining (from begging); thou recognisest them by their mark; they do not beg from men importunately.» (Q. II. 273.) This is the picture of those companions of the Prophet who had consecrated their lives to the study of religion minutely. They used to live on a platform adjacent to the Mosque of the Prophet ever ready to receive instructions by listening to his sermons, explanation of some question or decision of some case. From amongst them were sent missionaries to the tribes. Herein is recognised the importance of devotion to the spiritual service of the nation and the regular maintenance of the devotees from the national fund. Moral and spiritual training of the members of the community is essential for their healthy growth, hence the necessity of maintaining the educational institutions by the national treasury.

2. *The needy.* In this category are included all helpless people who possess nothing in the world. The people of the first class, though able to earn their living, were prevented from doing so by their devotion to the service of the cause, while the needy were subjected to misery and distress on account of want. According to a refined rendering of the Quranic idiom that the first place is to be given to those engaged in the service of religion in the order of their deserving assistance from the national fund is a gentle hint of the important position the devotees to the spiritual service of Islam occupy. Then, the precedence given to the two categories mentioned above indicates that in their case no neglect, nor delay, should be allowed in rendering help to them.

3. *The officials.* This category apparently is confined to the revenue department only, but deep thinking will reveal the fact that by the term «*officials*» is meant the whole machinery of government, as by *sadaqat* the revenue of the state is intended. Without the civil and military institutions of the government, no law and order can be maintained in the land, without law and order nothing can be produced, so without government no revenue can be collected. In other words governmental institutions protect the life, property and honour of those who through agriculture, industry and commerce produce for the nation necessaries of life and luxuries, so it is their due that the government should receive their share of necessaries as well as luxuries for their services.

4. *The newly admitted within the fold of Islam:* To tranquilize the minds of the new brethren in the Faith by granting them means to start life afresh in new surroundings out of the national fund is based upon two expediences. (1) A man, who renounces one religion and announces another, generally goes from one community to another severing old ties and contracting new ones. He sets out on his new career with a handicap. It is, there-

fore, right and proper that he should receive assistance from the national fund so that he may start life in less difficult circumstances. In the days of the Prophet, when the new movement was set on foot, the acquisition of the adherent had a special significance. (2) In some cases there are found people convinced of the truth of the cause, but are prevented from coming out publicly and joining it by considerations of financial dependence or social relations hostile to the cause. If there be a provision for making good to the loss incurred, the way will be smoother and the scope wider for enlarging the circle of Faith. This section completes the first category and constitutes a favorable commentary on the institution of propaganda and missionary organization.

5. *The ransoming of the captives.* There is no novelty in the ransoming of the brethren, captives in the hands of an enemy; but there is a subtle allusion in using the phraseology commonly used for slaves for the captives to the abolition of the barbarous custom of keeping the children of man in bondage. As if the Quran suggests the destruction of this inhuman institution root and branch at the public expense. Nay, the Quran in another place expresses this sentiment clearly: «Have we not given him (man) two eyes and a tongue and two lips and pointed to him two conspicuous ways (of good and evil)? But he would not attempt (to climb) the uphill path. And what will make thee to comprehend what the uphill path is? (It is) the setting free of a slave (and the recognition of him, by virtue of his being a child of man by whose name God took an oath in the beginning of this chapter, as a free and equal brother).» (Q. xc. 8—13.)

6. *The debtors:* To help the debtor out of his difficulty by giving or lending him a sum of money to discharge his obligations honourably and in time out of the national fund seems almost like the seed of the modern banking institution sown thirteen centuries ago. At any rate in the formation of the secular government of Islam

the economic aspect of society had received due attention. Nay, it sounds even socialistic.

7. *In the way of Allah:* Among the idioms of the Quran none is so all-embracing as: «*In the way of God*». Every useful act to humanity is covered by this term. For example to defend the nation and the country against the attacks of enemies; to establish schools, colleges, universities, hospitals; build bridges, gardens, roads; in fact every beneficial deed to the public is included in this term.

8. *The wayfarer:* To provide means for a traveller who may fall short of them in a foreign land so that he may reach his destination safely and comfortably is based on the belief that the brotherhood of Islam is not limited to a nation, country, race or colour but is vast enough to encompass the whole of the human species. Nay, the first and foremost object of Islam's advent into the world has been to establish the universal brotherhood of man in spirit and in truth.

It has been from the very beginning the ideal of Islam that there should be in every Islamic country a local government and a local national fund (baitul mal) and they should have connection with the Khilafet. In the days of the first four Khalifs the ideal was put into practice; especially the administration of the public treasury was under the supervision of the national council, and all the deserving people according to the precept of the Quran were recipient of aid therefrom. It is said of the Khalif Ali, the son of Abu Talib, that it was customary with him to address the *baitul mal* or the building of the treasury when it became empty, saying: «Bear witness o treasure-house that I had filled thee with justice and righteousness and emptied thee with justice and righteousness.» Then he used to perform two sets of Islamic prayer to God out of gratitude to Him. Though in the time of the Orthodox Khalifs the conquest of dominions had assumed wonderful proportions, yet the immaculateness

of the spiritual government, the justice of the secular administration and the fidelity of the management of the public funds were not affected in the least thereby. The reign of prophecy was the reign of grace and mercy, while the reign of the orthodox khilafet was the reign of blessing and virtue. The whole of the empire of the Khosroes and the fair provinces of the Roman empire namely Syria and Egypt had become mere appendages of Medina, still the successors of the Prophet were the servants of the people and custodians of the public treasury, they were not the Lords of the creation, nor the incarnation of the Deity. They never claimed that the national treasury was their property. Having power over everything, the spiritual government with them was identical with the worship of God, the secular government identical with the service of humanity, and the custody of the public money as a solemn trust not to be transgressed even to the extent of hair breadth. Surely they were perfect men.

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CHAPTER V.

HOW SPIRITUAL ORGANIZATION BECAME A TOOL TO TEMPORAL POWER.

Moaviyah, the son of Abu Sufyan, was appointed by the Khalif Omar in the last six years of his reign as the viceroy of Damascus in 638 a. d. He retained his post of viceroyalty of Syria in the whole reign of the third Khalif, too, namely twelve years. Between the Byzantine Empire and the government of the Khalif there was continuous warfare in those days, and Moaviyah was, therefore, in constant touch with the government of Constantinople. He had often occasion to dispatch messengers to the Byzantine Court and receive its ambassadors at Damascus. Heraclius's reign was approaching its end and the intrigues of his second wife, Martina, in the reign of Constantine III (641 a. d.), his death by poison after the reign of 103 days and the amputation of the Empress Martina's tongue and of her son Heracleonas's nose, were the edifying events taking place in Constantinople to inspire Moaviyah, the most ambitious, unscrupulous and crafty man in the history of Islam. Notwithstanding such intrigues, civil war and bloodshed, the Byzantine emperors were the spiritual and temporal lords of their subjects, and their splendour and luxury were the object of admiration of the world. Moaviyah's imagination was stirred by the grandeur, refined diplomacy and underground conspiracies of the court of Constantinople. He, therefore, *in imitation of the Byzantine emperors*, began to entertain ambitious designs of becoming one day the greatest autocratic emperor of the world. The fertile land of Syria affluent in plentiful blessings of nature and distant from the centre of khilafet, just suited the gradual realization of Moaviyah's ambition by creating a strong public opinion and staunch partisans

favourable to his designs through lavishing money and governmental posts upon them.

In the thirtieth year of Hegira (652 a. d.) Abizer of the tribe of Ghefar, — the most abstemious companion of the Prophet — was in Syria and observed the imperial pomp and grandeur of Moaviyah and the luxury and vanity of his courtiers. He had an anti-wealth cult and believed that no Moslem should have in his possession more than what would suffice for a day and night of the means of sustenance or something to spend in charity or in the cause of religion. His authority was the following text of the Quran: «(As to) those who hoard up gold and silver and do not spend it in the way of God, annouce to them a painful punishment. On the day when it (gold and silver) shall be heated in the fire of hell, then their foreheads and their sides and their backs shall be branded with it. This is what you hoarded up for yourselves, therefore taste what you hoarded.» (Q. IX. 34—35.) Consequently Abizer lost patience with Moaviyah and his associates, and began to preach publicly that the rich must assist the poor and to encourage the poor to get what they needed from the rich by force. The rich complained to Moaviyah about the trouble they were put to on account of the preaching of Abizer. Moaviyah wrote about him to the Khalif. The Khalif ordered that Abizer should be sent to Medina.

Twenty four years after the demise of the Prophet the third Khalif, Osman, was deposed and killed (656 a. d.) and the Moslem world, excepting Moaviyah and the people of Syria, swore fealty to Ali the son of Abu Talib. The new Khalif sent Jareer, the son of Abdullah, with his letter to Moaviyah and the people of Syria asking them to swear allegiance to him like the majority of the Moslem world. On the receipt of the letter of the Khalif, Moaviyah called in council the leading members of his family. His brother, Otbeh, said to him: «You had better seek the aid of Amr, the son of Al-As, in this matter.» Amr in

those days was living in his country place in the province of Palestine in order to keep himself aloof from the mischief of civil war. Moaviyah wrote him to the following effect: «You must have learnt what Ali had done with Telheh, Zubair and Aeysha, the mother of the Faithful. Now Jareer has come to us demanding our allegiance to Ali. But I have refrained from deciding anything till I meet you. So come and let us discuss the matter over together. Peace.» Amr came to Damascus with his two sons, Abdullah and Mohammad, as he realized that Moaviyah needed his assistance. Moaviyah said to him: «O father of Abdullah, we have three problems, we know not how to get into them nor how to get out of them.» Amr said: «What are they?» Moaviyah replied: «The first is this, that Mohammad, the son of Hozaifa, broke through the prison and fled with all his companions to Egypt. And he is our most relentless enemy. And the second is that the Caesar of Roum (Constantinople) is preparing and collecting armies to lead them against us and fight us in Syria. And the third is that Jareer has come bringing a message from Ali, who calls us to swear allegiance to him or else to take it as a declaration of war.» Amr said: «As to the son of Hozaifa let his breaking through the prison, and his and his companions' flight to Egypt not cause you any anxiety at all. Send cavalry in their pursuit. If you can catch them, so much the better, and if you cannot, then, they can do you no harm. As regards the Caesar, write to him that you are willing to return to him all the Roman captives in your hands, and ask him to make peace with you and to let by-gones be by-gone. You will find him ready to accept this proposal and to forgive your transgressions. But as far as Ali is concerned, the Moslems will not grant you equality with him.» Moaviyah rejoined saying: «But Ali has incited the people to murder Osman, brought about civil war and divided the united nation into factions.» Amr added: «Suppose it to be so; but you have got no priority in Islam nor

closeness in kin with the Prophet like Ali; well, but what shall I get if I cooperate with you in this affair till you obtain what you desire?» Moaviyah replied: «The order rests with you.» Amr said: «Make, then, Egypt's revenue my kitchen's budget.» Moaviyah was startled thereby, and after a pause of a moment commenced to argue: «O father of Abdullah, should I wish to deceive you, I could deceive you.» Amr retorted: «Man like me could not be deceived.» Moaviyah said to him: «Come nearer to me, I want to tell you something secret.» Amr moved nearer to Moaviyah. The latter thereupon told him: «This is but deception. Do you see in this house any one besides you and me?» Then he began to argue: «O father of Abdullah, don't you know that Egypt is like Iraq?» Amr kept up the chain of argument: «But the difference is that Egypt would fall into my lot only when you will have become the master of the world; and the world will become yours only when you will defeat Ali.» Moaviyah was quite dumfounded and Amr returned to his lodging. Then Otbeh said to Moaviyah: «Are you not content to buy Amr for Egypt, if your fried fish be secured for you, namely, you will not be deprived of Syria?» Moaviyah said to his brother Otbeh: «Stay to-night with us.» So he stayed there with Moaviyah. When Moaviyah got into his bed, Otbeh began to recite the following lines of poetry:

1. O, thou, who wantest to ward off the sword not yet unsheathed; Thou art lying on the bed of poplin and silk.
2. Thou art only a kid growing in plenty Between two breasts and the wool not yet sheared.
3. Fortune is come unto thee; take the first flow of its milk and leave (for others) what is superfluous.
4. Do not be too avaricious over fire out of stinginess,
   But kindle it for those that are trembling from cold.
5. Egypt belongs either to Ali or to us,
   But to-day has captured it one who is helpless, (Amr.)

Moaviyah was listening to these rhymes. The following morning he sent for Amr and gave him what he had asked for. They wrote a contract between themselves.

Then Moaviyah consulted with Amr on the question of Allegiance to Ali, and asked him his opinion on it. Amr replied: „Concerning this allegiance you have got the news of the people of Iraq from the best of men. And I do not consider it right on your part to call the people of Syria to embark on the policy of opposition, as it involves a great risk, before you have the complete confidence of their chiefs and leaders and before you have filled up their minds to the full with the conviction that Ali had instigated the people to assassinate Osman. The leader of the people of Syria is Shorahbeel, the son of Assimt, of the tribe of Kindeh. Send a messenger to him and ask him to come to you. Then station all over his way men, in whom he has confidence, to inform him at every station that Ali has killed Osman. That is the only word, which can unite the people of Syria for you. If that word would enter his heart nothing could get it out of his heart for ever". Moaviyah called Yazeed, the son of Asad, Busr, the son of Abi Artat, Sufyan, the son of Amr, Mokhariq, the son of Alharis, Hamza, the son of Malik, Habis, the son of Saleh, and so forth. These men were trusted by Shorahbeel. So they were posted on every station on the way of Shorahbeel to Damascus. Then Moaviyah wrote to him ordering him to come to Damascus. So he met throughout his journey the above mentioned men, who — one after another — informed him that it was Ali who had instigated the people to kill Osman. Then they filled his mind by repeating the story to him over and over again. When Shorahbeel arrived in the vicinity of Damascus, Moaviyah ordered the nobility of Syria to welcome him. They received him with great enthusiasm showing him every mark of respect and esteem. So whenever he met any of these noblemen of Damascus alone, every one of them, too, whispered into

his ears this fatal word. So when he came into the presence of Moaviyah he was raging with indignation. The first word he uttered was: «The people refuse but that the son of Abu Talib has killed Osman. By Heaven if thou declarest allegiance to him we shall turn thee out of Syria.» Moaviyah replied: «I am not going contrary to your command. I am also one of you.» Shorahbeel, then, pointing to Jareer said: «Send this man away to his master.» From this utterance of Shorahbeel Moaviyah was convinced that the former had the people of Syria under his influence. So he said to Shorahbeel: «What you intend to do will not be right and proper without the consent of the public. So you must make a tour of cities of Syria and inform the people at large concerning our resolution to avenge ourselves upon the murderers of Osman. You should take oath from them for rendering assistance and providing means thereoff.» Shorahbeel, accordingly, made a tour of cities and towns of Syria, going from place to place and exhorting the people saying: «O people, Ali killed Osman; therefore some people were angry with him; he met them on the battle-field and killed them and captured their land. (A curious presentation of the Battle of Camel!) There remains only this country (free from his yoke). Placing his sword on his shoulder and plunging thereby into the depths of death he is advancing towards you; but he will find none more powerful than Moaviyah to fight him. So rise, o ye, people! to avenge yourselves upon the assassins of your Khalif, the wronged one.» All people of Syria responded to the war-cry, excepting a few persons of Hems, who had cut themselves off the world and were devoted to worship. They said: «We confine ourselves to our homes and our Mosques and you know better.»

When Moaviyah tested the devotion of the Syrians to himself and made sure of their swearing allegiance to him, he said to Jareer, the messenger of Ali: «Join your master and inform him of the fact that I and the people of

Syria refuse to swear allegiance to him.» Then Moaviyah wrote the following lines of poetry composed by Kaab, the son of Jo-iel:

1. I see Syria does not like the land of Iraq
   And the people of Iraq despise the Syrians.
2. And every party cherishes enmity towards their opponents
   And considers every thing of this sort as religion.
3. They say: «Ali is our *Imam* and leader.»
   And we say: «We are satisfied with the son of Hinda, we are satisfied.»
4. They say: «We think it is right and proper that you should submit to us.»
   We reply: «We do not deem it right that we should submit to you.»
5. And every one is content with what one has,
   Even if he has lean, he considers it fat.
6. What Ali says is pleasant
   Excepting his joining the company of innovators in religion.
7. He is neither pleased nor displeased (with the murder of Osman).
   He is neither of those that forbade nor of those who commanded (to kill Osman).
8. Neither did it appear to him bad nor good
   Of course, after this, it will be (either good or bad to him).

When Ali read the poem, he said to Najashi: «Reply to it». So the latter composed the following:

1. Leave, o Moaviyah! the thing that cannot be,
   God has ordained the thing you are afraid of.
2. Ali is coming towards you with the people of Iraq and of Hejaz; what are you going to do now?
3. They consider it their religious duty to thrust spears through the clouds of dust and to pound the craniums with hammers.

4. They defeated the crowds of Zubair and of Telheh and the rest of the breakers of the solemn covenant.
7. If the people of Syria do not like the land of Iraq
We for ages are pleased with what you are displeased.
8. Say to Kaab the brother of Wile,
Who has made lean fat for one day,
9. You make Ali and his followers
Like the son of Hinda.
Are you not ashamed of yourselves?

(Addenawery, p. 167—171.)

The sad story in the same vein should be read in the pages of history of Ad Dinawery to the end. In short Moaviyah and Amr, the son of Al-As, had made up their minds that heaven and earth might pass away but they would not give up their pursuit of becoming the masters of the Islamic world by fair means or foul. They left no stone unturned to defeat Ali. They invented all sorts of lies and industriously circulated them broadcast to serve their selfish ends. The efforts of Ali and his followers to avert calamities of civil war and disruption of the Islamic commonwealth proved of no avail against the determined policy of Moaviyah to oust Ali from the headship of the Moslem world and install himself in his stead. When two parties are contending with each other to acquire a position of authority dependent upon the confidence and cooperation of the public and the contention leading to war and evils of war — and one of the parties is restrained by the sense of truth, honesty and public weal, while the other party has no scruples of truth or falsehood, no regard for honesty or dishonesty and not concerned with the public weal or woe — in such a case it is often that wrong prevails upon right in the public estimation. Of course, this victory is usually ephemeral. Because you can't fool all the people all the time. For example, when during the war of Siffeen the victory was about to be the reward of Ali and his

followers, the resourceful foxy Amr at once had recourse to an ingenious stratagem to deceive the ingenuous followers of Ali. At his instance copies of the Quran were hoisted on the foremost lances, which checked the soldiers of Ali from following up the advantageous course; and the certain victory was snatched from their grasp. Similarly, when the arbiters — Abu Moosa representing Ali and Amr representing Moaviyah — met at *Doomatul Jandal* to decide the dispute between the two parties according to the verdict of the Quran, Amr with exuberance of his politeness and courtesy to Abu Moosa, entraped him by saying that in order to restore peace and unity of Islam it was necessary that Ali as well as Moaviyah, both should be deposed and some neutral person be recommended to the nation for election to the post of *Khalif*. Abu Moosa, accordingly ascended the pulpit and announced to the anxious crowds that he as well as his colleague agreed to depose Ali and Moaviyah, both, and leave the matter in the hands of the nation to elect whomsoever they deem fit for the post of Khalif. But when Amr ascended the pulpit he told a different tale. He said: «O people! you heard that Abu Moosa deposed Ali, and I agree with him in that, but I maintain Moaviyah in *Khilafet* because he is the heir of Osman, claimant to avenge his blood and most worthy to succeed him.» Abu Moosa denied that he agreed to that decision and accused Amr of treachery and falsehood, but in vain.

After the disgraceful affair at *Doomatul-Jandal* there arose confusion, discension and apathy among the followers of Ali. Some of his partisans even accused Ali of heresy on account of his agreeing to the arbitration. Daily disobedience and desertion increased in the rank and file of those who were counted among his confidents. Moaviyah and Amr, on the other hand, started a well organized campaign of calumny and falsehood against him and subdued the distant provinces of Persia, of Yemen and of Egypt by force and even seduced many of the

leading men of Cufa, the centre of Khilafet, by bribe. When the news of an attack on the garrison of Anbar, a city on the Euphrates west of Baghdad, by cavalry of Syria, reached Ali, he wrote the following letter and asked a man to read it to the congregation after the service of Friday in the Mosque of Cufa:

«In the name of Allah, the most compassionate, the most merciful. From the servant of God, Ali, the commander of the Faithful, to his sectaries of Cufa. Peace be unto you. Then (know that) the war of defense is a gate from the gates of paradise. He, who neglects it, will be clothed with disgrace and covered with ignominy, branded with abasement and subjected to oppression. I called you day and night, in public and in privacy to fight those people (of Syria) and told you to attack them before they attack you. No people are attacked in their hearths and homes but they are abased and their enemy is emboldened against them. This brother of the children of Amer invaded Anbar, killed the son of Hassan of Beker, removed your arms from their magazine and killed many righteous men from amongst you. A report has reached me that they entered into the privacy of Moslem women and of women under our protection and snatched ornaments out of their feet and took away necklaces from their necks. They returned with enormous booty and not a single man of them received a scratch. If any one would die of chagrin I won't blame him but consider him worthy of respect. What curious irony of fate, which makes hearts to bleed, sorrows to thicken and griefs to deepen, namely they (Syrians) are united on their wrong and you are divided up over your right! Fie on you! Away with you: you became targets for their arrows, but you do not throw your arrows at them. You are invaded by them but you do not invade them. The divine laws are violated and you are not filled with righteous indignation. When I tell you to march in winter, you say, how can we go to wage a holy war in this cold and mist? And if I say

march in summer, you reply let the intensity of heat pass away. And all this is only to avoid death. And when you are afraid of cold and heat so much, you must, no doubt, be afraid of sword much more. By Him in whose hand is my life, you are not running away from all that, but you are fleeing from sword. O, ye, who look like men, but are not men! O, ye, whose fancy is the fancy of infants, and whose wisdom is the wisdom of women! I wish that God would take me away from your midst and remove me to His mercy from your company. How I wish that I had never seen you nor had I ever known you! By God, you have filled my heart with wrath and made me swollow every moment what is more bitter than the two myrrh gums. And you have upset my judgment through your disobedience and desertion to such an extent that the Qureish said that the son of Abu Talib was a brave man but did not know the art of war. God bless their ancestor! is there any man in their midst who has more strength to fight and bear the brunt of it longer than me? Verily I have grown through warfare since I was less than twenty and now I have crossed sixty. But there is no judgment in the man whose orders are not obeyed.» (Addenawery, p. 225—226, first ed. Leide 1888.)

The letter of Ali to his sectaries and confidents in Cufa is a commentary in a nutshell on the havoc wrought by Moaviyah's campaign of calumny against the khalif Ali and by his military expeditions conducted without any regard for reason or humanity. Moaviyah and Amr, the son of Al As were both companions of the Prophet. They learned from him to organize propaganda and to win the hearts of the people by generosity, but they used these two weapons as an engine for their ambitions with vengeance. They undermined the moral standard of the world of Islam, which the life-long efforts of the Prophet and his immediate successors had firmly established among the Moslems everywhere, by the nefarious disregard of truth, of sanctity of life and of the unity of Islam. Within

less than a decade the descendants of those heroes — the companions of the Prophet — who were the embodiment of righteousness and fidelity and would never condescend to worldly things — were changed through the example of these two men into fickle fiends, less honourable and more brutal than the Barbarians before the advent of Islam. The outlook of the Prophet was the whole universe, the extent of his country embraced the entire surface of the planet, and the circle of his Ommat (following) was capacious enough to contain all the tribes of the human race. But Moaviyah and Amr destroyed the sublime ideal by reviving the infantile jealousies and quarrels between the Omeyyads and the Hashimites and employed the forces and enthusiasm created for the preservation of the commonwealth in its disintegration and annihilation.

About the year 660 a. d. there met in Mecca three men — Abdur Rahman, the son of Moljim, Annazzal, the son of Amer, and Abdullah, the son of Malik of Siedan — and discussed the evils of the civil war. They came to the conclusion that there could be no peace without removing the three persons — Ali, Moaviyah and Amr — from the face of the earth. The first took the responsibility of assassinating Ali; the second that of Moaviyah and the third that of Amr. They fixed the same day for executing their bloody deeds, and carried out their engagements as agreed upon. But instead of Amr, another man was killed; Moaviyah received a wound and was cured of it by a doctor. It was only Ali, the son of Abu Talib, who received a mortal wound and expired the same day before the eveningtide. By Ali's death that sample of Islam, which was nourished to perfection by the Prophet himself, was lost to the world. After the Prophet by universal admission Ali was an authority in regard to the knowledge of the Quran and deep significance of religion. In the reign of his three predecessors he was consulted on all questions of state and difficult problems of war and peace.

CHAPTER VI.

BEGINNING OF DESPOTISM.

In the reign of Osman the son of Affan the Omeyyads had acquired the control of high posts of the mighty empire and introduced many evil practices in the administration of the state. The Khalif Ali wanted to remove the abuses and to bring the society and the state back to the original purity and simplicity. The new generation born and brought up in affluence, on the one hand, and the persistant propaganda with lavish expenditure of fortune and favour by Moaviyah and Amr seducing people even within the camp of Ali, made all the efforts of Ali ineffective. The campaign of calumny against Ali and his progeny became an established institution for the major part of the Omeyyad period. Every Friday noon curses and denunciations were pronounced everywhere upon Ali and his children from the pulpits to the multitudes assembled in the Mosque for the worship of the Almighty. The Khalif, Omar, the son of Abdul Aziz, who is regarded as approaching the Orthodox Khalifs in truth and in spirit among the Khalifs of the Omeyyad dynasty, wished to put an end to the scandalous custom of reviling Ali's memory from the pulpit on the solemn occasion every Friday. He secretly instructed a courtier of the jewish race to ask the Khalif in the full court the following day the following favour. So the Jew, accordingly, asked the Khalif, Omar, to grant him the hand of his daughter who had just attained the age of puberty. There was, thereupon, an uproar in the court. The Khalif, however, pacified the courtiers requesting them to find out the reason of that jew's audacity. The jew calmly protested that there was no audacity whatever involved in his innocent ambition. The Khalif was not greater than the Prophet. When the Prophet could deign to give his daughter in marriage to

the one, who is weekly cursed from the pulpit in the presence of the congregation on the solemn occasion of religious service; he, a cursed jew, too, could, with propriety, aspire to the hand of the Khalif's daughter. The court thereupon, was dumfounded, and the righteous Omar (717—720 a. d.) immediately issued a khalifal mandate prohibiting the abuse of Ali and his family from the pulpit henceforth, and substituting for it the following verse of the Quran: «Surely Allah enjoins the doing of justice and the doing of good (to others) and the giving to the kindred, and He forbids indecency and evil and rebellion; He admonishes you that you may be mindful.» (Q. xvi. 90.) This verse is still recited in the sermon from the pulpit at every Friday-service.

After the death of Ali, his son Hasan became Khalif. Moaviyah sent an army under the command of Abdullah the son of Amer the son of Koriez, as the vanguard, and followed him towards Madain. In the camp of Hasan, too, there existed disobedience, treachery and disertion. Some of the Kharejites inflicted a wound on the thigh of Hasan with a stilletto. When Hasan realized the debacle prevailing among his followers and the pertinacity of Moaviyah and his partisans to stop at no limit and gain their ends at all costs, he listened to sweet speeches of Amer and yielded to abdication in favour of Moaviyah. The latter accepted all the conditions proposed by Hasan, wrote the document in his own hand and sealed it with his own seal, emphasizing it with solemn oaths and repeated declarations.

In the fortieth year of Hegira (661 a. d.) Moaviyah the son of Abu Sufiyan became the greatest emperor of the Islamic world and the absolute master of the then civilized and richest portion of the globe. In the history of mankind two unusually great and awful events took place which turned two mighty currents of two religions from the right course to the wrong one and changed thereby the current of human history.

1. It was in form the protection of the Christian religion by Constantine the great and in substance the rendering of it an instrument for his imperial ambition and enslavement of humanity for generations to come. The Apostles of Jesus and their disciples spread Christianity in many parts of the world for three centuries through missionary propaganda. In the time of Constantine Christianity had made a considerable progress and made its influence felt in the society of the Roman empire. Constantine the great, therefore, made Christianity the state religion of the Roman empire (324 a. d.), hoping, thereby to ensure the continuity of Roman domination over the nations of the earth for ever. He engrafted the mystries of the Egyptian priestcraft upon the simple teachings of Jesus in order to overawe human conscience by a transcendent creed — a mixture of truth and absurdity. The combination of the sacerdotal and regal authority in the person of the emperor exacted the spiritual and physical submission of his subjects to his absolute will. In short, from the time of Constantine Christianity adopted a mysterious form, which would be difficult for Jesus and his apostles to recognise, if they were to come back to the world. Besides this innovation in religion, Constantine abolished the constitution of the Roman empire established by emperor Diocletian, according to which the Roman empire was governed by two senior emperors with the title of Augustus and by two junior colleagues called Caesars. Constantine by the power of sword got rid of his three partners in the administration of the empire and became the only one supreme lord of the world. The union of the spiritual and temporal authority in one individual, the despotism of the holder of the double power and the absolute submission of the people in body and soul, in words and thoughts to the will of the despot, were inherited by the Christian church from Constantine the great and Europe had to submit to that order of things for a thousand years. There is no doubt about his extraordinary per-

sonality and his wonderful achievements. His building of the city of Constantinople, of the church of St. Sophia and the establishment of the ecclesiastical hierarchy are monuments to his undying fame. No greater king ever lived in the Christian dispensation. But it was through the conquest of Constantinople by Mohammad the conqueror (1453 a. d.) that the scholars of the Christian church were scattered in western Europe, who by the teaching of religion and sciences to the people brought about the *renaissance* in Europe. Men like Martin Luther, who were the product of the *renaissance*, nearly fifty years after the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks brought about a reformation and released the European nations from the yoke of double despotism. Since the separation of the temporal from the spiritual government, Europe got on the road of progress, and made a wonderful advancement in sciences, arts, discoveries of secrets of nature and inventions of amazing character.

2. The second event was the rebellion of Moaviyah against the lawful Khalif, his plunging the Islamic commonwealth into miseries of civil-war, his recourse to a campaign of falsehood, calumny, treachery and brutality and his acquisistion of the khilafet by the most immoral means. It was about three hundred years after the reign of Constantine the great when Moaviyah was appointed governor of Syria by the second Khalif. Stories of Constantine's great victories over his opponents, his marvellous achievements in the church and in the state and his renown as the first mighty emperor in the Christian dispensation were house-hold words in Syria — the erstwhile fair province of the Roman empire. An ambitious nature like that of Moaviyah was naturally infatuated with the idea of emulating his Christian prototype. He had already seen the marvellous victories of Omar and the tremendous force in the organization of Islam. He desired to imitate Constantine in making the spiritual power of religion an engine for his ambition.

Hence Moaviyah followed in the foot-steps of Constantine in many things. The leading Moslems knew very well what Moaviyah was about. It is related that one Friday the Viceroy of Moaviyah at Medina addressed the congregation on the question of appointing Yezid, the son of Moaviyah, as the hier apparent to the throne of khilafet and concluded his remarks by saying: «This proposal is based just on the precept and practice of Abubeker, and Omar.» The son of Abubeker, who was present on the occasion promptly retorted by saying: «Thou liest: o enemy of God! it is but after the manner of the Khosro of Persia and Caesar of Roum (Constantinople).»

When Moaviyah, like Constantine, suppressed his rivals and established his throne, he aspired to conquer Constantinople to outshine the splendour of the builder of the city and to expiate the guilt of the civil war, which cost thousands of lives — the cream and flower of the Islamic commonwealth (668—675 a. d.). It is an authentic tradition of the Prophet mentioned by Al-Bokhari and Al-Moslem that one day the Prophet was on a visit to Omm-i-Haram, the daughter of Milhan, at midday. He took siesta there. After a short nap, he awoke smiling. The lady asked him the reason of his smiling. He replied that he saw in his vision some of his followers voyaging on board a ship, sitting like kings on thrones, in the service of God. All their sins will be forgiven. She requested him to pray that she should be among them. He said that she would be one of the party. Moaviyah paid special attention to the preparation of the naval expedition for the conquest of Constantinople, entrusted his standard to Sophian, a veteran warrior, and encouraged the soldiers by the presence of Omm-i-Haram and his son Yezid in the expedition. The siege of Constantinople lasted for six years in which thirty thousand Moslems fell, Abu Ayyub Ansari being amongst them. The ambition of Moaviyah, however, was not realized, and the expedition returned from Constantinople unsuccessful. This signal failure was

a natural commentary on the lavish expenditure of blood indulged in by Moaviyah in the civil war and on the loss of spirit and enthusiasm in that generation on account of his propaganda of falsehood; otherwise Constantine III, the grandson of Heraclius, had made little effort to defend the siege by organizing the army or the navy. It was, however, too late for Moaviyah to think of making good for the loss, because the forces of corruption let loose by him had taken deep root in the society. Of course, his prudence, moderation and liberality went a long way to reconcile his opponents with his regime as long as he lived.

From the time Moaviyah was elected as the head of the Moslem world, the commander of the Faithful had been in every generation a khalif in name but an absolute monarch in reality. That has been the opinion of the Sunnites from the beginning. The spiritual office was reduced to a shadow to be utilized at a convenient season, while the temporal power became a visible substance everywhere and at all times. Seeds of schism of Shiaites and Sunnites were sown and in proportion the despotism and persecution grew the underground-forces of revolution took root. For about a century the Omeyyads ruled over the united Moslem world. In 749 a. d. the main line of the Omeyyads of Damascus were deprived of the khilafet, the secondary line of the Omeyyads of Cordova continued in Spain up to 1031 a. d. The Abbasids of Baghdad ruled from 749 to 1258 a. d. There was a Fatimite dynasty in Egypt which came to an end in 1171 a. d. From 1258 a. d. the Abbaside khalifs were without any temporal power in Egypt up to 1538 a. d. From the latter date the khilafet was transferred from the Abbaside dynasty to the family of Osman of Turkey which was abolished in 1924 a. d. by the Grand National Assembly of Angora.

The reign of the Orthodox Khalifs, which was after the pattern of the Prophet's ministry, only lasted for thirty years; while the Khalifs after Moaviyah's own heart have

been ruling the Moslem world for thirteen centuries. Was there any wonder, then, if the Moslems during the last thousand years could form no ideal of a khalif or a ruler of a Moslem land, for matter of that, but as a most autocratic tyrant with an unlimited power of life and death? Owing to so many centuries of continuous despotism, even the learned among the Moslems have lost the faculty to understand that Islam originally meant spiritual fraternity, social liberty, constitutional equality and democratic polity.

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CHAPTER VII.

WHAT IS THE DUTY OF THE MOSLEM WORLD TOWARDS KHILAFET?

That the Grand National Assembly of Angora deposed Khalif Abdul Mejid and exiled him out of the Turkish territory is an undisputed and painful fact, which no one can deny. In the first chapter the reasons pertaining to the safety, existence and progress of the Angora Republic, which led to this most unpleasant act in the history of Islam, are fully explained. They, at their best, constitute an apology of the tragedy. This question has a historical and international aspect, also. The time has come that it should be considered from that point of view also. One of the qualifications of the *Imam* or *Khalif* is his ability to protect the lives, the property and the honour of the Moslems. Whence did this duty become one of the obligations of the post of the Khalif? When the Prophet emigrated from Mecca to Medina the insecure state of the newly formed community of Islam compelled him to organize a secular government for the protection of the lives, the property and the honour of the Moslems. In the reign of the Orthodox Khalifs the dominions of Islam were extended from the Nile to the Oxus. So it was the acquisition of dominions that made it obligatory for the Khalif to be able to govern the country and protect the interests of the nation. For a century the Khalifs were the rulers of the undivided Moslem world. Then the empire which comprised the best portions of Asia, Africa and Europe was first disintegrated by the civil wars, and then gradually was lost to non-Moslem powers during the last few centuries. In our time the late Ottoman empire was the last Islamic empire that could maintain the dignity of a Khalif-Sultan. As a result of the late world-war that empire also disappeared and the present

Turkish Republic of Angora is only the one fourth of its former size. The rest of the Moslem countries are either under direct domination, protection or sphere of influence of Christian powers of Europe. Consequently no Moslem king to-day can fulfill the conditions of a Khalif of Islam. The destruction of the Ottoman empire was in reality identical with the abolition of the Khilafet. What Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Grand National Assembly of Angora have done, simply amounts to the acknowledgement of the accomplished fact officially. The resources of the Angora Republic, moreover, could not afford to maintain the dignity of the Khalif. Viewing from this point of view, the whole performance without a civil war and bloodshed exhibits a great capacity, moral courage and frankness on the part of its authors. To abolish an institution hallowed with the traditions of thirteen centuries, like Khilafet, in a Moslem country requires an unusual amount of courage. Only considerations of national safety and the Republic's security can overcome such religious scruples.

A few questions demand now the attention of the Moslem world as a whole.

1. The Turks have proclaimed to the world at large that they are finished with both the *Sultanet* and the *Khilafet.* Is the Moslem world as a whole interested in the solution of the question of Khilafet or not? In the second case though there are over three hundred millions of Moslems in the world, yet Islam is dead in the spirit and truth. It is hard for one even to imagine such a contingency. People make sacrifices for the sake of idolatery. Islam is one of the great religions of the world. Many of the chivalrous and noble races of mankind live, move and have their being under the banner of Islam. Those who know the Quran can never consider Islam as useless and played out. The Moslems will surely do what lies in them to solve the problem of Khilafet to the satisfaction of all concerned. Have we not heard that all the

religious and spiritual institutions in Egypt as well as the khilafet committee in India have already made an announcement for holding a Conference of the representatives of Moslem countries in Cairo next March (1925) to deliberate upon the question of the Khilafet?

2. Will the representatives of Islamic communities elect one of the remaining kings of Islam for the post of the Khalif or will they not elect any of the kings at all?

There are objections general and particular to electing any of the kings of Islam to-day for the post. General objections: (1) In the Christian dispensation it was Constantine the great who had made the spiritual power as an engine for the temporal authority. It took one thousand years to separate the spiritual from the temporal government. In the Islamic dispensation it was Moaviyah who had made the *Khilafet* an instrument for the *Sultanet*. After thirteen centuries only now the Islamic people have got a chance to elect the successor of the Prophet in a true sense of election. So let them not commit the old mistake again. (2) *Khilafet* is the manifestation of purity and sublimity, while *Sultanet* is generally associated with the impurity of intrigues and the debasement of diplomacy. During the last thirteen centuries the mixture of purity and impurity has done more harm to Islam than good. (3) Any Moslem king who may be installed to the post of the Khalif to-day will become immediately an object of suspicion and intrigue on the part of those powers that are dominating over Moslem lands. In the present weak state of Islamic countries it would be nothing short of folly to court an unnecessary disaster. None of the Moslem countries is in a position to discharge its obligations concerning political, economic, military and educational departments sufficiently and efficiently. Is it reasonable to add on its already overburdened shoulders an extra-heavy load far exceeding its power to bear? The Ottoman empire notwithstanding its vast resources in money and men could not escape the con-

stant onslaught of the designing European powers on its vitals. (4) The public opinion and sentiment of the civilized world is strongly biased against the political unity of the Islamic world. The very name of pan-Islamism is tabooed as a bogey in the civilized world nowadays.

The particular objections. Efforts are being made in the Hejaz, Iraq and Transjordania to proclaim Shereef Husain of Mecca as the Khalif. Nay — they have commenced to bless his name as the Khalif from the pulpits at every Friday-noon service. As time is a great healer, it may be possible for the Moslem world to forget what Shereef Husain contributed to the destruction of the last Moslem empire during the late world-war — nay, even to forgive it on the plea of patriotism and zeal for the emancipation of the Arab race from the yoke of another race though of the same religion. But the question is: «Have all the Arabian tribes of the peninsula sworn allegiance to Shereef Husain?» Are Imam Yehya of Yemen, Syyed Idrisee of Aseer, Ibn-i-Rashid of Nejed and Ibn-i-Saood of Bahrien going to acknowledge the founder of the Hashimite kingdom as the lawful Khalif and the supreme lord of all the Arabic-speaking nations? If this question can be satisfactorily answered, the title of Shereef Husain to the Khilafet will be established, he will be willingly recognised as the head of the Moslem world, and the end will justify the means. In that case the resources of Arabia will suffice to uphold the dignity of the independent Khalif and he will be in a position to protect the lives, the property and the honour of the Moslems either by sword or diplomacy. But under the present circumstances, Shereef Husain's elevation to the sacred position of Khilafet will have no more weight and prestige than the already existing *Imamat* of Imam Yehya of Yemen and the Khilafet of the Sultan of Morocco. Economically speaking Morocco and Yemen are fertile lands while the Hejaz cannot be compared with them economically. The

 possession of the holy places of Mecca and Medina may yield

some weight in favour of Shereef Husain, yet it cannot afford him means sufficient to maintain the khalifal dignity. There is another point, however, which strongly militates against the candidature of Shereef Husain. Although he and his sons enjoy the privilege of being addressed with the flattering title of «His Majesty», yet in reality they are bolstered up by the foreign monetary and military props. So long as they are dependent for their very existence upon such foreign aid they are creatures of a non-Moslem power. If the Shereef be elected as the Khalif, it will amount to this, that up to now the Khilafet had been an engine for the aggrandisement of Islamic despotism and henceforth it will become an instrument for the aggrandisement of a non-Islamic imperialism. If it be conceded once, owing to the institution of annual pilgrimage being controlled by aliens, the future of Islam will become dark in the extreme. It will be the realization of that dream for which forces in Europe were set in motion for centuries. Perhaps, Shereef Husain and his sons may be trying to fortify their position by treaties clear and not ambiguous at all. But it was not Germany that regarded first a treaty as «a scrap of paper». Germany had learned it from another power's constant practice for a century and a half in the East. It must be a case of a very short memory, indeed, if people were to forget how the occupation of Egypt was effected on a pretext of upholding the khedivial throne of Tewfik, and how solemnly it was declared to be temporary in season and out of season, but even now after the lapse of forty-two years that occupation is in full force in Egypt as ever! Let the lamentable fate of the late Khedive Ismail and equally lamentable fate of his grandson, the ex-Khedive Abbas Hilmi, serve as «the writing on the wall», to those kings who rely on foreign money for support and on the foreign bayonets for protection and then at the same time dream of the independence of their country and the freedom of their nation!

The election of king Fuad of Egypt or that of Ameer Amanullah Khan of Afghanistan to the post of the Khalif will not encounter the same objections as those in the case of Shereef Husain. The status of these two countries before the world-war was precarious and it is only very recently that they have received international recognition. They have many important duties to perform in years to come before they will have set their houses in order. They have to regulate their finances, organize their army, perfect their educational system, develop the resources of their countries, introduce new industries, enlarge their commerce and agriculture, and especially in Afghanistan to build railways and other facilities of communication and transportation in order to become prosperous and able to maintain their independence and be admitted into the comity of the great nations of the earth. They have just set their hand to the plough and it takes time to pass through various stages to the season of reaping the harvest. It will retard their growth to take up more responsibility than they can bear. The great principle in our time that has led to marvellous advancement in all walks of life and all branches of sciences and arts, is decentralization and specialization of parts of every department. Spiritual organization is a world in itself. It requires people entirely devoted to its service. In these days more than at any time religion must be brought within the reach of every member of the community. Religious organization must be perfected scientifically and moral and religious culture must be imparted to every child of man in order to protect society from decay and disruption.

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE KHALIF MUST BE THE SPIRITUAL LEADER ONLY.

As Moses, Jesus and Mohammad are descended from the lineage of Abraham and as they three claim their coming as the fulfilment of that patriarch's prayer, it is advisable to cast a glance over the circumstances in which they rose to eminence. Moses found the children of Israel in bondage in Egypt with no prospect of ever getting out of that abject state of «hewers of wood and drawers of water». He took them out of the land of Egypt, and made laws for them, organized them into twelve groups, trained them in the wilderness for forty years to get them out of the psychology of slavery and to create in them the feelings of free men, and then led them to the threshold of the promised land flowing with milk and honey. Their government for about three hundred years was patriarchal and democratic. Then they emulated the gentiles and had kings. From 721 b. C. to 599 b. C. in the course of two centuries they were carried into captivity three times.

In the time of Jesus the Jews were again a subject race and waiting for a second Moses to free them from the bondage. There was almost an interval of fifteen hundred years between Moses and Jesus and the world had gone through many changes during that period. But the Jew's mentality had not changed. They were exclusive and stiff-necked, believing themselves to be the chosen people and despising the rest of mankind as gentiles outside the pale of divine favour. Jesus told them that he was the second Moses sent to the lost sheep of Israel to bring them back into the fold. The salvation or emancipation of the Jews in his time could only be realized by recognizing the Jews and the gentiles alike

as the children of the Most High. He also told them further that the sacrificial and sabbatical laws were designed to suit the exigencies of the times for the convenience of man and not man was made subservient to those laws. He argued with them on these points by quoting from the Old Testament: «Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself» (Mark. XII. 31. Lev. 19, 18) and «to love his neighbour as himself, is more than all the burnt offerings and sacrifices» (Mark. XII. 33). But the Jews could not tolerate the idea of any man claiming to be greater than Moses and abrogating his laws. When the Jews did not accept the principle of brotherhood of man taught by Jesus, the gentiles welcomed the idea and Christianity made slow but sure progress. But, as pointed out above, Constantine the great made it a tool of imperialism and despotism.

Mohammad came of the seed of Ishmael six hundred years after Jesus. He found his people, the Arabs, not under the foreign yoke as the Jews of the time of Moses and Jesus were, but still under the bondage of ignorance and superstition, and he found the Jews and the Christians far from the ideals of Moses and Jesus. So he brought the Arabs out of ignorance and superstition and made them torch-bearers for mankind to spread the light of the unity of the Deity after the pattern of Moses and the light of unity of humanity after the model of Jesus. The organization of the temporal government by the Prophet was in the likeness of the government of the Judges among the children of Israel, while the spiritual organization was based on the equality of men without distinction of race or colour after the ideal of Jesus. So the first and foremost ideal of the Prophet was to establish the kingdom of God on earth by the power of spirit and truth: «To whom belongeth the kingdom to-day? To Allah, the One, the Subduer (of all).» (Q. XL. 16.) Hence the use of sword for defence against persecution and suspicion of agression, and consequent acquisition of large portions of earth were accidental and secondary:

«Permission (to fight) is given to those upon whom war is made because they are oppressed, and most surely Allah is well able to assist them; those who have been expelled from their homes without just cause except they say: «Our Lord is Allah». And had not there been Allah's repelling some people by others, certainly there would have been pulled down cloisters and churches and synagogues and mosques in which Allah's name is much mentioned.» (Q. XXII. 39—40.)

It is established by the testimony of the Quran and the traditions that the Prophet had assigned the first place to the spiritual moiety of Islam and in practice, too, he observed the same order all his life-time. It is, therefore, the first duty of the Khalif to fulfill the spiritual duties of his post; and as the changes of time have rendered the union of the scattered tribes of Islam over the face of the earth under one temporal head practically well-nigh impossible, so the spiritual head of the Islamic world must religiously eschew every and any kind of interference in political affairs of the Faithful the world over. Of course, his most important duty is to maintain the tie of spiritual brotherhood binding all the Islamic tribes, the differences of language, the distances of place and the want of political union notwithstanding. It is a historical fact that the temporal power even in its palmy days could not maintain the union of the Moslem nations long in the past, and the present disorganized political state of the world of Islam does not inspire one with any sanguine hope of such a union in the near future. Hence it is expedient that the successor of the Prophet should devote his entire time, energy and attention to the indispensable obligation of his sacred post, the spiritual Ministry of the Islamic world, and shun politics as poison. «*Unto God* (belongeth) *the pure religion*», says the Quran. It means that the religion of God is not affected by political prejudices, racial limitations, selfish motives and fetishtic superstitions, but it is broad enough to include

the whole humanity under its spiritual care. This must be the guiding principle for the new Khalif in times to come. The unfettered freedom of religion for the benefit of the human race would naturally in course of time obliterate the unfortunate gulf existing for centuries between the two sister-sects, the Shiaites and the Sunnites.

The second duty of the new Khalif will be, in accordance with the principle of the unity of humanity, to address all men in the etiquette of the Quran: «*O men,*» inviting them to work for the improvement of this world and the felicity in the world to come. And as the successor of the Prophet, he will humbly offer the guardians of other religions the ever-standing overtures of peace and good-will in sincerity and love: «Say: O followers of the Book! come to an equitable proposition between us and you that we shall not worship any save Allah and (that) we shall not associate aught with Him, and (that) some of us shall not take others for lords besides Allah.» (Q. III. 63.) It is pointed out in the preceding pages that one of the articles of faith in Islam is to believe in all revealed books and all messengers of God. That is the ground of equality on which Islam is ready to meet all religions in order to make peace with them. As to the constitution of the spiritual organization, it is proposed that the unity of the Deity, which is a common belief among all religions, should form its basic principle and no gods many and lords many be tolerated. And in regard to the temporal government, it is declared that no despotic kings nor autocratic priests should be allowed to have control over the affairs of the people.

When the representatives of the Moslem countries will meet in Cairo in March 1925, by the invitation of the religious institutions of Egypt for the election of the new Khalif, it is earnestly hoped, that the holy and spiritual Assembly will be gracious enough to pay proper attention to the statements and reasons sincerely presented in these pages. If they be convinced of the genuine-

ness and honesty of the proposal it is hoped and trusted that they will elect for the post of the Khalif a man who will be only the spiritual head of Islam, will have nothing to do with politics, whom all Islamic communities — whether independent or subject to non-Moslem governments — should recognise as the focus of the spiritual brotherhood, and whose orders will be directed to the sacerdotal, moral, educational, religious and spiritual welfare of the Islamic Fraternity throughout the world. For example a curriculum of studies for the candidates to the post of *Imam* or Moazzin should be issued from the centre of the Khilafet to all countries connected with the Khilafet. Similarly a head of pilgrims should be appointed annually by the Khalif, who, in commemoration of the last pilgrimage of the Prophet should remind the concourse of the brethren in the Faith on the plain of Arafat from all parts of the world of the solemn covenant of the spiritual bond, and inform them of the blessings bestowed by the Almighty on the Moslems during the year or of the trials and calamities that they were subjected to. For blessings thanks be offered and for troubles means of relief be provided. For instance, if there was famine or earthquake in some land of Islam, appeals should be made for the succour of the sufferers from the calamity. Even the report of the progress of the cause in new fields of activity as to how many missionaries were sent to so many countries to deliver the message and how many people embraced Islam or in what places the principles of Islam were misrepresented or misunderstood, and in what manner the misrepresentations were refuted and mistakes corrected, should be circulated in that unique congregation in the world.

THE COUNCIL OF THE KHALIF.

As the Khalif is the spiritual ruler of the Islamic world, he must have his government and various departments

of administration. The governing body of which the Khalif will be the president, will be the supreme council of the Khilafet. The members of this council will be the most learned men in religion, philosophy, sciences and history who will be elected and sent by the religious organizations of the Moslem countries to the centre of the Khilafet. Their number and qualifications are mere details and that could be decided upon after the election of the Khalif and the framing of the constitution of the spiritual government. The members of the council will become the heads of the various departments. The future Khalifs will be elected from among the members of the supreme council of the Khilafet.

THE MINISTRY OF RELIGION.

The first administrative department will be the ministry of religion. This will be the real spiritual government. All sacerdotal institutions will come under this ministry. Its origin is derived from *Salat* (religious service) and *Jamaet* (congregation). In every Moslem land all Mosques, schools and religious foundations should be organized and placed under the jurisdiction of the chief centre of administration of that land. For example, there are thousands of Mosques big and small throughout the length and breadth of India. Every Mosque constitutes an organization and an administration. When a child is born, a death occurs, or a marriage takes place, the Imam, the Moazzin and the guardians thereof have to perform religious ceremonies on such occasions. Let it be granted that there is a big village under whose jurisdiction are many small villages each having a Mosque and a congregation. Let each congregation elect a committee of management to look after the religious, moral, educational and spiritual welfare of the community. These village committees should be placed under the jurisdiction of the big village

central committee, and the latter under the town-central committee, and this one again under the supreme central committee of the whole country. And the supreme central committees of various countries should be connected with the ministry of religion at the centre of the Khilafet. In this way any order or advice emanating from His Holiness the Vicegerent of the Prophet should reach every congregation in the Moslem world. This was actually done in the golden age of the Orthodox Khalifs, when the Khalif was the minister and the Father of his people. In those days there was only one head of the whole Moslem world. But, when there rose many Khalifs at the same time and the Islamic commonwealth was divided into numerous kingdoms, the unity among the followers of the Quran was lost. As it is impossible to-day to bring all Islamic countries under one common head of Islam politically, so let us all unite under the leadership of our spiritual Father, who will have nothing to do with political intrigues and mundane grossness. Thus it will be possible to revive the union of the hearts among the brethren of the Faith and none could assail that fortress of strength if erected on conscious conscientiousness.

The dark outlock for humanity to-day makes the unity of Islam under the spiritual banner urgent and opportune. Owing to the marvellous advancement of science, wonderful discoveries of secrets of nature and amazing inventions of means of communication and transportation which have annihilated time and space, coupled with deadly weapons and materials and forces of destruction, it has become practical for a handful of people to monopolize the wealth and resources of our planet and peg claims for their coming generations at the expense of the teeming millions of the rest of humanity, though the earth produces enough for all and to spare. It is a curious irony of fate that the Jew, after suffering persecution of centuries has learned nothing and forgot nothing. He

is still exclusive and selfcentred. At the moment of his triumph, the Jew's pretensions have waxed beyond proportions. He now thinks that the whole inhabitable globe constitutes «the land of promise» for him. And in the places, where he has got the upper-hand, he is applying, so to speak, the merciless law of Moses in order to avenge himself upon helpless millions under various shibboleths. «But the cities of these people, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, *thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth.*» (Deut. xx. 16.)

The followers of the lowly Jesus are, no doubt, meek, but only to inherit the earth. There is no continent nor an island all over the globe where they have not established their claim and possession. «Love thy neighbour» evidently means in their opinion «love thy neighbour's country, wealth, commerce and labour». They have gone to the farthest corner of the earth to preach the Gospel to the heathen in their zeal to save his soul, but in regard to the requirements of the body he is segregated because he is of an inferior race. The American Fathers of their celebrated constitution had proclaimed to mankind a hundred years ago: «life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness are the birthrights of every child of man.» But to-day in the same land of the free the riff-raff of the European countries arrogate to themselves the superiority of race and do not tolerate to a handful of Indians and Japanese the possession of a few acres of land earned by the sweat of their brow. This uncompromising attitude on the part of the western nations constitutes a portend of a great struggle for existence between the orient and the occident in the very near future. To dispossess more than half of the human race of their birthright to live, cannot be accepted without challenge and may be a source of great calamities to humanity. Judaism and Christianity in their power and glory are adrift off their moorings and cannot save humanity from the impending catastrophe.

So let us organize the Moslems of the world under the spiritual leadership of the Khalif for three objects in view. (1) By the instinct of self preservation, we must hang together, otherwise we may be hanged separately. (2) We should try to persuade the Jews and the Christians through the divine word of the Prophet to the policy of «*live and let live*» and thereby avert the calamity. In the ninth year of the Hegira on the plain of Arafat addressing a concourse of more than a hundred thousand people the Prophet delivered his farewell message to humanity: «Your blood, your property and your honour are as sacred and inviolable as this day (of Arafeh) as this month (of Zul-Hijjeh) and this land (of Arafat).» In the religious idiom of Islam nothing could be more impressive and more permanent. (3) By organizing centres in Islamic lands connected with the Khilafet and by establishing a «*baitulmal*» (public fund) at every centre big and small, we shall try to solve the question of poverty through love and sympathy which is attempted by materialism through the class-war and dictatorship of the proletariat.

If the ministry of religion at the centre of the Khilafet with its branches in all Islamic countries be established and set in working order, the spiritual organization of Islam will in no way be inferior to any great temporal organization in the world. For instance, managing committees of Mosques will be able to take the census of men, women and children, orphans, widows, artisans, professionals, industrialists, agriculturists, etc. in every locality, village, town, city and country and submit their reports to the centre of the Khilafet. Thus the scattered communities of Islam in spite of geographical distances, difference of languages could be united with the centre of the Khilafet and through its blessing they could partake of mutual joy and sorrow with one another. That is the meaning of: «and when thou seest there, thou wilt see there blessings and a great empire.» (Q. XXIX. 20.)

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CHAPTER IX.

THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE OR BAITUL MAL.

The commandment: «Keep the prayer standing and give the alms» (taxes to the national treasury) is one of the oft-repeated commandments in the Quran, because no organization whether religious or profane can exist without a financial basis to support it. And the law regulating the taxes for the maintenance of the sacred as well as the secular government mentioned in the ninth chapter of the Quran has been fully explained above in previous pages. When the new Khalif will be elected by the popular suffrage, the Moslem world by the law prescribed by the Quran will become responsible for the maintenance of the khalifal institution with all its administrative departments. The council of the Khilafet, therefore, will have to prepare an annual budget to be presented to the Moslem world through the chief centres in Islamic lands. Similarly every centre large or small will prepare its budget and present it to its congregation, and include in it the share of its obligation to contribute towards the maintenance of the Khilafet. Thus by the establishment of the sacred institution of the Khilafet there will come into being in every locality where there was a congregation with a Mosque, a committee with a public treasury into which will flow all charities incumbent or voluntary. The *Zakat* (the obligatory contribution), which is a wonderful basis of the sacred organization and for the refusal of which after the demise of the Prophet, the Khalif Abubeker had issued a decree of apostasy against the Arabian tribes and declared war upon them, will be regulated afresh and paid regularly just as it was done in the time of the Orthodox Khalifs. And by the injunction of the Quran and the grace of the Khalif every public treasury will be in a position to look

after their orphans, widows and poor consistent with self-respect, and in course of time there will not be found in the Moslem world any helpless man, woman or child, unprovided for. And practically the revived Islam will present to the rest of the world an example of international spiritual communism. That will be the real Islam. For the irregular charity, as it is practised to-day in Islamic countries, puts a premium upon laziness and vagrancy.

THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND RESEARCH.

This department of the spiritual government is of the utmost importance. The ages preceding the advent of Islam were termed in the idiom of the Quran *the days of ignorance.* The following verse of the Quran lays down an injunction as to the necessity of a certain number of men from amongst every Islamic community to dedicate their lives to the cause of national education: «Why should not then a company from every party from among them (the believers) go forth (in search of knowledge) that they may apply themselves to obtain understanding in religion, and that they may warn their people when they come back to them that they may be cautious.» (Q. IX. 122.) In expounding the importance of learning alluded to in this verse, Al-Baidavie says that the acquisition of knowledge is more meritorious than fighting in the defence of religion and country, because the prime object of the Prophet's Ministry was to make the people understand religion by argument and reason.

This department should have many branches.

1. *The Teaching department*, which will be open to students from all parts of the Moslem world, who could receive instruction there, and after completing their studies and obtaining diplomas and degrees from there, they

could go back to their countries and engage themselves in the educational service of the community.

2. *The historical department.* With great care and investigation impartial and thorough, histories should be written beginning from the advent of Islam, translated into languages of Moslem countries and made text-books everywhere so that schisms arising out of the causes that exist no more now should be done away with and the followers of the Quran should exert their time, energy and mind in advancing the cause of peace, progress and enlightenment of the race.

Books should be written on the history of other religions, too, from the Moslem point of view, so that the leaders and teachers of Islam could have dealings and discussions with the leaders and teachers of other religions with knowledge and ability.

3. *The Department of modern sciences.* Without the knowledge of cosmogony, astronomy, geography, geology, mineralogy, botany, zoology, chemistry, physics, economics, especially electricity, etc. no community can expect equal treatment from the civilized nations of the earth. And those would-be-teachers of Islam, who would be sent to the civilized nations to preach Islam, should be conversant with the depth and mode of thought of the people among whom they would spread the light of truth.

There is another deep and sublime consideration which the Quran assigns for the study of all sciences spiritual and physical. Herein we have to call to our assistance the Soofie-lore concerning the reason, which led the Absolute Being to create man and place him on this planet. It is one of the most sublime parables ever conceived by human mind to express heavenly ideas in earthly language. It is the thought of the Supreme Being expressed in this way: «*I was a hidden treasure; I desired to be known; so I created the creature (man) that I should be known.*»

To understand this statement one is supposed to stretch one's imagination to go countless cycles back when man was not yet created and given habitation on this globe. But there were stupendous orbs beyond calculation floating in the endless space for numberless cycles of time exhibiting the grandeur and the beauty of the Most High. There was, however, no eye that could behold that amazing grandeur in awe and admiration, and no heart that could be smitten by the charms of that surpassing beauty in love and devotion. It was, as if, a case of the sweet-scented flower wasting its fragrance in the desert air. And the Beauty cannot brook concealment. Hence it became a necessity that a creature with penetrating eyes and loving heart should be created, that could lose himself in awe and wonderment at the sight of the grandeur of the macrocosm, and be enraptured by the captivating magnetism of the beauty of the microcosm.

This is a sort of a prelude to the parable mentioned in the Quran. Before creating such a creature the Absolute Perfection consulted the great luminaries of heaven, the earth and the mountains, whether they could become His mirror and reflect His complete likeness: «Verily we offered the *trust* to the heavens and the earth and the mountains, but they refused to bear it and were terror-struck by it, and man accepted it; verily he was unjust (to himself) ignorant (of the enormity of the trust).» (Q. XXXIII. 72.) The material realm of the universe is the partial manifestation of the attributes of the Perfect Being but is not capable of reflecting His complete Perfection, which is called the *trust* here. Similarly He consulted the denizens of the spiritual realm: «And when thy Lord said to the angels, I am going to make a Vicegerent on the earth; they said, art thou going to make (Thy vicegerent) on it such a one who will spread corruption in it and shed blood? but we celebrate Thy praise and extol Thy holiness. He said verily I know what

you do not know. And He gave Adam the knowledge of the names of all things; then He presented them (those things) to the angels; then He said, tell me the names of those if ye are right. They said, holy art Thou, we have no knowledge but of that Thou hast taught us. Verily Thou art the knowing, the wise. He said, O Adam: inform them of their names (names of all things). Then, when he informed them of their names. He said: Did I not say to you that I surely know what is unseen in the heavens and the earth and (that) I know what you manifest and what you did hide. And when we said to the angels, prostrate before Adam, they prostrated but Iblis (did not prostrate before Adam); he refused and he was proud, and he was one of the unbelievers.» (Q. II. 33—34.) In this verse the Supreme Being's consultation with the angels on the question of the *trust*, or *His vicegerency* as it is called here, or *the mirror of His image* as it is mentioned in the first chapter of Genesis, is described but in a different manner. The angels being the nearest to the throne of the Almighty would naturally accept the offer of the *trust*. Hence it was necessary to show their limitations by putting to test their abilities in regard to holding the *trust*, and showing the superiority of man over them in that respect. To put it in plain words, the subtle forces of nature, which are ever at work in producing life, harmony and phenomena in the limitless expanse of the universe, also manifest some of the sublime attributes of the blessed Perfection. But each force works in a fixed field eternally. It is, therefore, a partial manifestation of the Absolute Perfection and cannot become a total and faithful image of the Absolute Perfection. Yes, *man* who partakes of the physical and the spiritual realms — forming, so to speak, «a junction of the material and spiritual seas» — has sufficient capacity and enough versatility to become a mirror to reflect the totality of the Blessed Perfection. The forces that are producing vegetable and animal life, for example, are consciously and

unmistakably manifesting in their own provinces the marvellous skill of the creator, but the skill and intellect of man, which encompasses both the spheres of matter and spirit, is *par excellence*. The Absolute Perfection has two exclusive attributes: omniscience and omnipotence — knowing all and creating everything. The capacity of knowing the names, attributes or the properties of all things, physical and spiritual, was bestowed upon man, so that through his senses he could know the secrets of the material part of the universe, while through his reason he could tackle the mysteries of the spiritual sphere of the universe. So the faculty of limitless knowledge and the power of endless production after the pattern of the Omniscient and Omnipotent Creator, singles out man to be the image of his maker, the bearer of His Trust and the Vicegerent of God on the earth. So the eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil was the beginning of the up-hill ascent unto the endless heights of civilization and enlightenment and was not the downward descent to the bottomless abyss of original sin and damnation. Man in his infantile stage of evolution, when he was arboreous and a cave-dweller, was told, as children are told, not to touch the tree of the knowledge of good and bad and become fastidious, as it would involve the end or death of living without care and anxiety upon the produce of nature. Through the instigation of the serpent or satan of ambition, he ate of the tree of knowledge, felt ashamed of his nakedness and made an apron of fig-leaves to cover his nakedness. Soon after he was clad with coats of skins and commenced to cultivate the land to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow. This was the first step of evolution of the material civilization to be followed by continuous advances into material and spiritual realms.

The taunt of the angels that man, owing to the earthly moiety in him was prone to spreading corruption in

the earth and to shedding the blood of his fellow-men, was answered by the fact that man, when he would employ his rare faculties in the pursuit of knowing the properties of all things — physical and spiritual — (which is the aim of modern sciences) he would discover wonderful mysteries of nature and invent marvellous means of harnessing the forces of nature into the service of humanity (which the Quran symbolically called the prostration of the angels before Adam), he would be thereby elevated to the pinnacle of eminence, from where it would be below his dignity to stoop to corruption and shedding of blood. This would be possible through the altruistic efforts and sacrifices of men, like Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Mohammad. So through the natural sciences coupled with the teachings of the Prophets it will be possible to bring the human mind into a reasonable frame to cooly and calmy ponder over the great problems of humanity, to realize that the earth can be made to produce enough for all nations, so why should there be any necessity to corrupt the earth by selfishness and shed blood of the fellow-men by brutality. Then and then alone the principle of *live and let live* can be universally recognised and: «life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness are the birth-rights of every child of man,» can be understood everywhere. To-day owing to various degrees of culture and knowledge of sciences among nations, the cultured ones dominate over those who have no culture.

The downfall of the Moslem nations has been due to want of education and absence of scientific knowledge. So in the regime of the new Khalif of Islam no negligence should be allowed in future in regard to the study of all sciences among Moslem communities everywhere.

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CHAPTER X.

THE DEPARTMENT OF PROPAGANDA AND MISSIONARY ORGANIZATION.

The revival of the Islamic propaganda through a missionary organization will be incumbent upon the new Khalif for the following reasons:

1. The real object of the Prophet's mission has been to «guide mankind to the right path»; and to deliver the Divine Message and «direct the people to do right and prohibit them from doing wrong» have been of his primary duties to be performed perpetually — in his life-time by himself and after his demise by his successors. «O Apostle! deliver what has been revealed unto thee from thy Lord; and if thou dost it not, then thou hast not delivered His message; and God will protect thee from the people.» (Q. v. 67.) As long as the Prophet was alive he never failed to do his duty — he used to deliver the message personally and send missionaries to the distant tribes. In the times of the Orthodox Khalifs the message was delivered and delivered more effectively, but its mode of delivery was different owing to the contingencies of the times. Those companions of the Prophet, who used to be sent to the courts or camps to discuss the conditions of war and peace, according to the early Islamic etiquette used to present to their opponents the articles of Faith and spiritual brotherhood. Any one who embraced the Islamic Faith was received with open arms as a brother with equal rights and responsibilities. In that case the distinction between the conqueror and the conquered disappeared. That was the reason why the countries conquered in the reign of Omar, the second Khalif so readily became Islamic religiously, socially and in many cases in language.

2. The prophecies of the Quran concerning the triumph of the religion of truth were of two kinds.

a) The first set of them refers to the triumph of the religion in the days of the Prophet and the Orthodox Khalifs: «And certainly our word has gone forth in respect of our servants, the Apostles; most surely they shall be the recipients of the divine succour; and most surely our host alone shall be victorious; therefore turn away from them (the persecutors) till *a while.*» (Q. XXXVII. 171—174.) This promise of the divine assistance to the cause and its triumph after *a while* is repeated in the Quran over and over again. Some times the companions of the Prophet when persecuted severely said in despair, so to speak: «When will the help of God come?» The response came: «Mind! surely the help of God is nigh.» (Q. II. 214.) By the conversion of the whole of Arabia to Islam in the life-time of the Prophet and the spread of Islam outside Arabia in the immediate reigns the promise was fulfilled. Two points ought to be kept in mind in regard to the prophecies referring to the early success of the Faith. The first is this that when the promise of help came it was generally connected with the persecution to which the companions of the Prophet were subjected. And the second fact is that the Prophet and his companions worked diligently and ceaselessly in carrying the propaganda to the utmost parts of the peninsula.

b) The Quran contains also the prophecies and promises of the spread of the religion of truth throughout the world and its triumph over all religions: «He it is who sent His Apostle with the *guidance* and the religion of truth that He should make it prevail over all the religions; and God is enough for a witness.» (Q. XLVIII. 28.) In this solemn divine promise also, the *guidance* of the people by propaganda and missionary activity on the part of the Prophet and his successors is mentioned as

preceding the triumph of the religion of truth over all the religions of the world.

The scholars of the *Traditions* are well aware of those traditions relating to the *tribulations of the last day* and contained in the six authentic collections. Those traditions deal with the tribulations that would lead to the disintegration of Islam and then its reunion and final triumph after the tribulations. One of such traditions is the following, which is, unfortunately, least understood even by the greatest doctors of religion: «Islam commenced as a stranger and soon it will recommence as a stranger as it did in the beginning; so happy are those strangers who will reform what the people had corrupted.» This is a remarkable tradition mentioned by the well known collectors of traditions of the Prophet. It was misunderstood in every generation in the past for two reasons.

1. The outward grandeur of Islamic empires did not help imagination to form a faithful picture of the disaster of Islam.

2. The word «*Yaoodo ghareeban*» was translated: «It will become stranger again.» In reality the Prophet meant to say that Islam appeared in Mecca, and it was weak, ridiculed and persecuted in its birth-place; but when Islam emigrated from Mecca to a strange land (Medina) there commenced its strength, its respect and its safety. Islam will have to go through this double process again, namely it will be reduced to the state of weakness, ridicule and persecution through the tribulations and the civil war, but after the tribulations will be over, it will again in some strange land other than its birth-place regain its strength, its respect and its safety. Happy will be those Moslems living outside Arabia, who will remove corruptions introduced by people from Islam and restore it to its pristine purity. When it will become pure, it will again commence its remarkable career and will

triumph over all the religions of the world by calling the people to the Lord of the universe «with wisdom and exquisite discourse» and by disputing with them in the most refined manner and not by compulsion and sword.

Has not Islam reached its lowest ebb? Are not the Moslems to-day weak, ridiculous and exposed to dangers, just as the Prophet and his companions were after their arrival in Medina, their three hundred millions of souls notwithstanding? Will not the restoration of the Khilafet on purely religious and spiritual basis after the pattern of Abu-Beker, Omar and Ali, be its purification from the corruption of despotism introduced in it by the selfishness of men? Is not the delivering of the Divine Message to mankind the holiest thing that was dearest to the Prophet to the last moment of his life?

As the first promise of the triumph of Islam was fulfilled in the early days of Islam, so will the second promise be fulfilled in the future. The Prophet had established the missionary organization for the propaganda of religion. The new Khalif must follow suit and revive the institution.

c) From the time of Moaviyah, the son of Abu Sufyan, up to this day the empires and kingdoms in Islam have not spread corruption and bloodshed among the Moslems only, but even did not behave well with non-Moslem nations. Consequently the nations of the earth believe that Islam was introduced among the people by the sword. But it is a patent fact universally admitted that Islam was proclaimed by one man, Mohammad, the son of Abdullah, who preached it himself and his missionaries in season and out of season. His life whether in Mecca or Medina was to the end a life of simplicity of a teacher of religion. He ever despised the vain pomp of the world. Then, what absurdity is there in the fundamental principles of Islam that it would need compulsion for conversion's sake? Nay, in the time of some of the Omeyyad

Khalifs the Jews and the Christians were prohibited to become Moslems. The rigour of this prohibition had become a public scandal in the reign of Omar, the son of Abdul Aziz. He rebuked the governor of a province for prohibiting the Jews and the Christians from embracing Islam. The latter replied that if they were permitted to become Moslems the treasury will lose the poll-tax. The Khalif said: «Never mind, let them become Moslems; for Mohammad was sent as a guide to the right path and not as a collector of revenue.»

As long as the Moslems were powerful enough to defend their homes and hearths, it did not matter much if their religion was misunderstood. But in these days, when they are defenceless and weak, it is a matter of consequence that misconceptions concerning their religion should be removed by establishing propaganda of Islam in non-Moslem countries. Especially in this age, when narrow minded nationalism has waxed into abnormal proportions and at any moment may assume the terrible tendencies once possessed by the so-called religious bigotry and fanaticism, it is right and proper that a religion, whose foundation is laid down on the unity of humanity, should come forward and preach the healthy doctrine of international amity and concord. It will not be amiss if a few fundamental principles of Islam, that would be best suited to the requirements of the age, be given prominence in propaganda among non-Moslem nations.

1. All the tribes of mankind are equal in being the children of man and have equal claim to life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness: «O people! fear your Lord (in dealing one with another) who created you from a single soul and created its mate from it and spread from these two many men and women; and fear God through whom you demand (your rights) one of another and (fear the sanctity of) blood relations.» (Q. IV. 1.)

2. Human economy is a sacred edifice erected by the great architect of the universe, the preservation of which is meritorious and the destruction thereof without a valid reason is abominable: «Whoever slays a soul, not for (slaying) another soul nor for mischief in the land, it is as though he slew all men; and whoever keeps it alive, it is as though he kept alive all men.» (Q. v. 32.) There is a subtle point worthy of notice here. Every member of a species contains the whole essence of the species and something besides, as a species can exist by the existence of one member only. Hence the preservation of an individual of a species in practice is regarded as the preservation of all the individuals belonging to it in merit; and similarly the destruction of one member of it unlawfully in pratice is held as the destruction of all members of it in guilt.

3. The last and the farewell exhortation of the Prophet at his last pilgrimage on the plain of Arafat in which he pointed out that the lives, possessions and honours of the people were sacred, and asked the present to convey the message to the absent as well as to the coming generations, is so important that it should be brought home to Moslems and non-Moslems in season and out of season.

4. The last reason for reviving the institution of propaganda and missionary organization is the belief that through the spread of true religion, war and rumours of war will cease to exist one day in the world: «Fight (for the defence of the nation and the country) with them until the time there will be no war (in the world) and the religion, the whole of religion, will be for God.» (Q. VIII. 39.) The true service of Humanity can be performed through the spiritual influence by removing the causes of conflict among individuals and nations. This will be possible for the Khalif to do through his missionaries of peace and good will among Moslems and non-Moslems alike.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.

It is repeatedly mentioned in the preceding pages that the disciples of Jesus and their followers spread Christianity for three hundred years by preaching and delivering the message only. But when it became the state religion of the Roman empire in 324 a. d. the missionary institution became obsolete and remained so for a thousand years. At the time of the Reformation, however, the Popes with the intention of making good in Asia and Africa for the loss of Germany, England etc. in Europe, revived the missionary organization. Their example was followed by the protestant churches, also. The Christian missions are models of religious zeal and stability. They have left no spot on the face of the earth where they have not gone and not delivered the message of the Gospel. They have invaded even the Islamic lands including Arabia. They have translated the Bible in almost all the languages of the world. Many of these missions are supported by the public subscriptions only.

Similarly Islam was spread in the beginning by preaching and mission work. But when in 661 a. d. or fortieth year of Hegira Moaviyah became the absolute monarch of the Islamic world, the organized missionary institution ceased to exist. Public preaching became below the dignity of scholars. It is thirteen centuries since the missionary organization has lost its practice as a national institution in the Islamic world. Now the time has come that this important institution for which the precept and the practice of the Prophet are emphatic injunctions, should be revived under the auspices of the new Khalif. History is going to repeat itself. Christianity

acquired worldly pomp through Constantine the great but lost its spiritual vivacity for a thousand years. But when the Moslems conquered Constantinople, the Christian monks who fled to western Europe brought about the revival of learning in Europe and Reformation in Christianity. Similarly Islam assumed worldly glory through Moaviyah and lost its spiritual life for thirteen centuries. Now that mighty empire of the Khalifs has become a history only preserved in books, we are on the threshold of a new era of revival of learning in the east and of Reformation in Islam. Moslems and Christians had fair fights on many a battlefield during the past centuries. They will now have many friendly fights on mission-fields in centuries to come. Islam in its purity has no inherent defect or weakness, as many Christians think owing to decay and downfall of the Moslem empires during the last few centuries. Islam will revive quicker than Christianity did. Adversity is the best school of discipline and regeneration. There will be no harm in establishing the Khilafet on the model of the Papacy, because Islam has no infallability of the Khalif, no ecclesiatical hierarchy and no absolute submission to the decree of the Church.

It may be said that the Christian missions are protected by the Christian empires and kingdoms; who will protect the Moslem missionaries in far off lands ? The answer is that the Christian missionaries need protection, because they are suspected of political designs as well. Islamic missionaries will never interfere in political affairs of any country at all. Then, who protected the Prophet and his companions when they used to go to preach among the hostile tribes ? Were not the band of teachers sent by the Prophet at the request of certain tribes ambushed and martyred ? Was not the Prophet when he went to Taif to preach, stoned at and not allowed to rest in the shade; and were not dogs let loose at him on that occasion ? The propaganda of religion and delivering of glad tidings

to mankind is a trust inherited from the Prophet and must be fulfilled at all costs. «O Apostle! deliver what has been revealed unto thee from thy Lord; and if thou dost it not, then, thou hast not delivered His message, and *God will protect thee from* (the evil designs and wrongs of) *the people.*» (Q. v. 67.)

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Chapter XI.

THE PERSON OF THE KHALIF AND THE PLACE OF THE KHILAFET.

We have arrived now concerning the question of Khilafet at a crucial point, where it should be discussed from all of its aspects thoroughly, freely, but impartially and consistantly with the testimony of the Quran, the traditions of the Prophet and history. The time has come that this question should be solved once for all in a manner worthy of its origin, aim and destiny among the great institutions of the world.

Risalet (the Divine Mission), constitutes the foundation, and *Khilafet* (the continuity of the Divine Mission) is a permanent institution erected on that foundation. The function of the Risalet is thus specified by the Quran: «And We have not sent thee (O Mohammad) but with a universal mission to all men as a bearer of glad tidings and as a warner, but most men do not know (it).» (Q. xxxiv. 28.) As Mohammad personally could not accomplish that mission in his life-time owing to limitations of human life and capacity in one life-time, so it was meant to be a permanent institution and not a personal and individual function. The Prophet after delivering his Farewell sermon at the plain of Arafat, turned his face towards heaven and repeated thrice these words: «O Lord be witness that I have delivered the Message», and then turning to the people assembled there said: «Let those who are present here carry the Message to those that are absent and to generations yet unborn.» This continuity of the Divine Mission is more clearly confirmed by the Quran itself: «Say, what thing is the weightiest in testimony? Say, God is witness between you and me; and this Quran has been revealed that with it I may warn you and whom-

soever it reaches.» (Q. vi. 19.) From this and numerous such evidences it is established that the original object of the Khilafet was to perpetuate the mission of the Prophet. The Personality of the Khalif was not intended to play the all-absorbing role either in his life-time or after his death. The institution of the Khilafet was really meant to be an agency for delivering the Divine Message to mankind at all times and all climes.

We see the first instance of limitation and personality creeping into it at the *Saquifa of Beni-Saaida* just after the demise of the Prophet when one of the Ansar said: «Let there be elected one Ameer from the Ansar and one Ameer from the Mohajireen.» But that tendency to the narrow view of the Khilafet was checked at the very outsed by the presence of mind on the part of Abu-Beker at the moment when the majority of the companions of the Prophet were stupified by the shock of the news of the Prophet's death. And the very abnormal state of affairs and fear of mischief arising out of it really led to the election of Abu-Beker to the post of Khilafet. For the second Khalif often warned people against such a sudden election of a Khalif in the future and called the election of Abu-Beker *Faltatan* (without deliberation on the part of the people).

The second manifestation of personal ambition, so to speak, was apparent in the withholding of Ali the son of Abu Talib from swearing allegiance to the first Khalif for six months, which act we called early in this book an ill-omen in the very beginning of the Khilafet. On the proper investigation of the facts and scrutiny of the circumstances, however, it will become clear that the action of Ali was actuated rather by zeal for obedience to the expressed desire of the Prophet than it was prompted by mere love of power and glory. From the year 632 to 661 of the Christian era when Ali was martyred his life even in the most trying circumstances betrayed not the slightest trace of worldly ambition nor any trait of egoism on

his part. It is universally admitted by all denominations of Islam that the Prophet while returning from his Farewell pilgrimage and having a sort of premonition about the approaching end of his career in this world, assembled his companions at a place called *Khum-ghadeer*, said to them that he was going to introduce to them a man who loved God and whom God loved and then lifting Ali up in the air and holding him by his arms addressed the assembled hosts saying: «Those, whose *Maula* (leader) I am (must recognise) Ali also as their leader. O Lord! love those, who love Ali and hate those, who hate him.» It is related by some of the authorities on the traditions of the Prophet that after that presentation Omar, afterwards the second Khalif, approached Ali and congratulated him saying: «Welcome, welcome, Father of El-Hasan! thou hast become the leader of every believer-man and woman.» This presentation of Ali to the nation by the Prophet with so much ceremony just about two months and a half before his demise was in the nature of a recommendation for the election of Ali to the post of the Khilafet. But the death of the Prophet created extraordinary circumstances fraught with dangers even to the very existance of Islam. It must be remembered that the hostility of the Quriesh to Islam and its founder did not cease to exist till the eighth year of Hegira when all the tribes of the Arabian peninsula embraced Islam and that the overt and covert enemies of Islam abounded throughout the land even to the very last moment of the Prophet's life. The wholesale apostasy of the Arabian tribes and their refusal to pay the *Zakat* (taxes) just after the death of the Prophet amply bears out the truth of this argument. Abu-Beker, being the veteran companion of the Prophet foresaw the dangers and by acting promptly nipped them in the bud. Ali, being comparatively a young man, was anxious that the will of the Prophet should be carried out literally. The very fact that Ali was soon reconciled with Abu-Beker and took active part in the

councils of the state in the reigns of his predecessors shows that his difference of opinion was not personal but was based on a principle and that when he realized that the conduct of the affairs of the Islamic commonwealth by Abu-Beker and his colleagues was right and proper in conformity with the noble ideals of the Prophet, the fears of Ali that lest some harm should come to Islam by a leap into the dark through the election of an unauthorized man were all appeased. The meaning of Ali's leadership, moreover, were explained by the Prophet himself when he said: «I am the City of knowledge and Ali is the Gate thereof.» Although Ali was not elected as the first Khalif, yet he was recognised as the spiritual leader by Abu-Beker and Omar themselves when they were the rulers of the Moslem world. Ali was the lord of knowledge and wisdom, generosity and justice, and served the cause of Islam faithfully in the time of his predecessors as well as in his own reign. Because the *Maula* (the chief) of a nation is their *Khadim* (their servant).

As to the companions of the Prophet and their differences of opinion, the following generations, owing to abnormal circumstances, unfortunately took extreme views. The Shiaites, who claim to be the followers of Ali, overdid in their hero-worship and magnified every detail of facts weighing against the predecessors of Ali in the post of Khilafet. The Sunnites, on the other hand, generally avoided to discuss the quarrels among the Companions out of respect for them. Then the despotism of the Islamic governments and the narrow-minded bigotry of the so-called religious leaders in the later centuries did not permit any attempt at weighing the facts coolly and bringing about the reconciliation between the two main sects of Islam. The leading companions of the Prophet were after all men, and it is a part of human nature that there exists a sort of a healthy rivalry among the best of men of the same profession in the same generation. It is a matter of common knowledge in our times that the men

of genius are seldom elected to the headship of states in the modern democracies while the men of mediocrity often head the list at the polls and are elected by the popular suffrage. If Abu-Beker and Omar used some electioneering devices — say for the sake of argument — they knew well that Ali was young and had plenty of chances to be elected to the post of Khilafet.

The best and the only way for the Moslems in regard to this and other questions is to follow the Quran. It never indulges in personalities but proclaims principles. For example it is admitted by all the commentators of the Quran that the Chapter LXXI contains a eulogium upon the merits of Ali, and the Chapter XCI pays an encomium upon the virtues of Abu-Beker, but their names are not mentioned in the text of the Quran. Ali himself says: «See what one says and do not see which one says.» At the time of the Prophet the Jews and the Christians were attaching too much importance to the persons of the founders of their religions and neglecting the principles for which those founders stood. The Quran records their contention and hankering after personalities of Moses and Jesus and answers them by showing to them the wisdom of following the principles and not the persons thus: «And they say: Be Jews or Christians, you will be on the right path. Say: Nay! (we follow) the religion of Abraham, the upright one, and he was not one of the polytheists. Say: We believe in Allah and (in) that which has been revealed to us and (in) that which was revealed to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and (in) that which was given to Moses and Jesus, and (in) that which was given to the Prophets from their Lord; we do not make any distinction between any of them, and to Him do we submit.» (Q. II. 135–136.) In this verse the question of personality and principle is solved. The Jews and the Christians each declared that the right path was confined to their respective systems established by their respective founders. The Quran pointed out to

them the fountain-head of all systems namely the religion of Abraham, the fundamental principles of which were permanent and backbone of all the subsequent religions. That was the only course for establishing unity and concord among all the tribes of mankind. As to the points of conflict that might be found in these systems, they were local, and non-essential and therefore should be avoided. As to the personalities of those benefactors of humanity, they should be revered and their memory blessed: «That was a people that passed away; they (already) have had what they earned and you shall have what you earn, and you shall not be called upon to answer for what they did.» (Q. II. 134.)

Another example of the following the essential principle, which is permanent and runs through all institutions, for establishing concord, while discarding the points of conflict for avoiding discord, is found in this verse of the Quran: «(Receive) the baptism of God.» (Q. II. 138.) Among Christian Churches some hold that baptism should be administered to a child immediately after its birth; some require it after a certain age; some deem it requisite from time to time; then, some think that the immersion of the whole body is necessary; some consider that the washing of the body is sufficient; some say that the mere sprinkling of water will suffice. But the principle underlying baptism is the cleanliness of the body and the purification of the soul. So the Quran suggests that by keeping in view the underlying common principle you can achieve concord and avoid discord, and that is the real baptism which God requires of you. A simile will illustrate these two verses better. A river at its source is a tiny stream but being fed in its course by its tributaries gradually becomes a mighty current. Religion is also started in the same manner as a feeble force, but through the additional efforts of the subsequent dispensations it becomes a world-embracing power for good. But, suppose that instead of the tributaries supplying the river with water there should

be cut out innumerable canals to devert its waters into sands of the desert. In that case the river will become smaller and smaller till it will be dried up in the summer when its water would be needed. Islam at its source was started as a tiny stream and in the twenty three years of the Prophet's ministry through the cooperation of his companions became a big river, and then in the following twenty years in the time of the Orthodox Khalifs it became a mighty current going onward irresistibly and carrying with it all the obstacles that it met in its course. But soon it was split up into three main branches of the Shiaites, the Sunnites and the Kharijites with their innumerable divisions and subdivions, which consumed all its vital substance and left its main channel dry.

We should, therefore, appeal to all the sects and denominations of Islam in the light of the teaching of the Quran: «Say: O people of the book (the Quran) come to a word (a fundamental principle recognised) equally by us and by you that we should not serve any but Allah and that we should not associate aught with Him, and that some of us should not take others for lords besides Allah.» (Q. II. 63.) We should tell them that in view of the impersonal and unrestricted rule laid down by the Quran: «O ye who believe! obey Allah and obey the Apostle and the holders of authority (elected) from among you» (Q. IV. 39) and in the light of the lessons taught by history as to the havoc wrought by the hero-worship in the last thirteen centuries, the post of the Khalif in future should not be a close preserve of any family, any tribe or any nation, but it should be open to every qualified Moslem who with faith, zeal, industry, unflinching loyalty and undaunted determination could undertake the onerous task of delivering the Divine Message to all tribes of mankind by organizing the missionary institution and sending them to the remotest corner of the earth. Consequently, let all the denominations of Islam take part in the election of the new Khalif and support

the institution of the Khilafet as a symbol of the unity of Islam. So the Khalif, as the spiritual head of the Moslem world, will be able to mix with the Moslems living under monarchies or republics and under Moslem governments or non-Moslem governments, with a clear conscience and perfect liberty. In that case alone, he can become a powerful agency for good to mankind. Through him old differences and animosities can be forgotten, order can be restored in the place of the prevailing chaos, friendly relations between the Moslems and the civilized world can be established and thus many of the impending conflicts among nations can be averted. To find a man of such a broad outlook, wide vision, sublime ideal, unfaultering perseverence and willing sacrifice among Moslems to-day is a problem. We have, however, to find him somehow, if we do not find him in this generation, we must create him in the next. But we must, however, set ourselves at once seriously to the task of solving the problem. We have, no doubt, good men like Sheikh Ahmad Sunnosie, among us, who can fill the post of Khilafet with propriety.

If one were to say that the idea of reconciling the Shiaites and the Sunnites with each other seems to be as mere utopian — or if to be charitable, as a mere pious wish, — because during the last thirteen centuries the two sects never showed any tendency to approach each other but rather drifted apart the more the time went on. We would say that men are creatures of circumstances. Prosperity breeds jealousy while adversity, as the Imam Ghazzali says, dulls the edge of enmity. Then, it was the rock of the Khilafet on which the ship of the unity of Islam was wrecked in the past. When the Khilafet will be reformed the unity of the Islam will also revive. The motive power in every department of life in the period of the Prophecy and the Orthodox Khilafet was altruism or selfless love for the service of God and humanity, but after the perversion of the Khilafet by Moaviyah and Amr the son of Al-As, Egoism or selfish passion for power

and domination became the order of the day ever since. If now the Khalif in the future will have neither any empire nor a worldly pomp but will have instead the cares and anxieties about the alleviation of the humanity in distress and elevation of nations of the earth through moral instruction and spiritual influence, surely he will become as pure as the Orthodox Khalifs were. A word coming from a pure heart penetrates into the depth of human soul. In the last thirteen centuries either any propaganda or a missionary organization on a world-wide scale was never established as the first and foremost duty of the Khalif. Hence the corruption and decay of the Islamic institution was the result. But now a new heaven and a new earth are to be created as far as the Khilafet is concerned. Under the shadow of the purified Islam it will be possible that not only the Shiaites and the Sunnites will be united but the peace on the earth and good will among all men will become the goal: «And we will root out whatever of rancour is in their breasts — (and they will sit) as brethren, on raised couches, face to face.» (Q.xx.47.)

If a religion does not strive to eliminate evil from human institutions and establish the reign of righteousness in the world, it is not worthy of the name of religion. Islam, in particular, came to prepare and fit man for the post of the Vicegerency of God on the earth and to redeem the challenge accepted by the Almighty when the angels insinuated the unfitness of man for that exalted post on account of his being prone to «spreading corruption in the earth and shedding the blood of his fellow-men». If one were to look superficially at the way the Arabs behaved just after Moaviyah and Amr undid the glorious work of the Prophet and the Orthodox Khalifs, one naturally would wonder whether the Almighty failed to fulfil His promise of placing his Vicegerent on the earth. In the palace of Cufa, where the second Khalif had established a colony for the protection of the Islamic commonwealth, the head of Husain, the son of Ali and Fatimeh

and grandson of the Prophet, was thrown on the ground at the feet of Obiedullah, the son of Ziyad, the governor of Cufa in the year 61 of Hegira; soon afterwards the head of Obiedullah was thrown on the same spot at the feet of El-Mukhtar of the tribe of Saquifeh; a few years later the head of El-Mukhtar was thrown on the dust at the same place at the feet of Musaab, the son of Zubair; and in the year 72 of Hegira the head of Musaab, was laid at the feet of the Khalif Abdul-Malik, in the same palace of Cufa. Can horror and wickedness go any farther! But if you look at the matter carefully, you will find neither any failure on the part of the Almighty to fulfil His promise, because he has endowed man with capacity to rise to the endless heights of both the material and the spiritual regions, nor any fault or defect in the moral and spiritual guidance of the Quran. The fault, however, lies at the selfishness of the men, who in spite of admonition to ascend to lofty regions follow the passion of beastiality and descend to the lowest depth. Let us have a glance at the beautiful exposition of the subject by the Quran itself:

«By the fig-tree (of the leaves of which Adam and Eve made aprons to cover their nakedness in the garden of Eden and thus set about a starting point for the human progress on the material plane), and by (the mount of) olive (on which Jesus, the spiritual Adam, proclaimed the coming of the kingdom of God on the earth for the first time to humanity at large marking it as a starting point of progress on the spiritual plane), and by the mount of Sinai (where Moses received the ten commandments conducive to law and order in society, and capable of maintaining the progress of civilization, and that was the culminating point of legislation for the principles of progress of humanity on the material plane) and by this city made secure (namely Mecca, where Mohammad, the Seal of the Prophets, completed the spiritual teaching started by Jesus, declaring that man was the holder of the Divine

Trust to become the Vicegerent of God on the earth by becoming his mirror to reflect his image of perfections faithfully in omniscience and omnipotence and thereby to remove corruption from the earth and shedding of blood from the society) verily We have created man in the best of forms (in which matter and mind are harmoniously combined so that he could progress materially and morally infinitely. Then We turned him away (from our grace when he became) lowest of the low (by preferring ignorance to knowledge and passion to reason, by worshiping the graven images, the trees, the sun, the moon, the men and the angels, and by corrupting the earth and shedding the blood of his fellow-men, though he was endowed with capacity to become the highest of the high) excepting those who believed (in realities and had faith, courage and determination) and did good deeds (namely directed their faculties into right channels and did not waste time either in wrong pursuits or in doing nothing); for their reward will be limitless (that is their progress either on the physical or spiritual plane will be endless). Then, what makes thee (O man!) to disbelieve in the religion (which teaches man to believe in the verities of the material as well as the spiritual realms and on the data of the true knowledge and with the boundless capacity to produce to apply his faculties into right channels in order to remove corruption from the earth and shedding of blood from the society and to become the Vicegerent of God on the earth in reality)? Is not God the wisest of the wise? (or is it difficult for God to create man in His own image of omniscience and omnipotence with the capacity to progress materially and spiritually infinitely and establish the kingdom of God on the earth?)» (Q. LXXXVI, 1–8.)

The essence of these few lines containing a world of meaning is this. God swears by Adam, who first set humanity on the path of material progress, by Jesus, who first led them on the road of spiritual progress, by Moses,

who completed the law for the material civilization and by Mohammad, who completed the spiritual teaching, and then says that He has created man with faculties and capacity for endless progress, so that he, through the correct knowledge and the rightly directed efforts could establish the kingdom of God on the earth and become His Vicegerent therein. But if he does not avail himself of these privileges, which could enable him to rise to endless heights, he will be turned away from grace and will remain at the bottom of the abyss, which he choses himself. In the first verse the two starting points are paired and in the second the two completing points are joined, or in other words, Adam and Moses are the alpha and omega of material progress, and Jesus and Mohammad are the alpha and omega of the spiritual progress. There is moreover, a gentle hint here in swearing by these four dispensations to the fact that in the precepts and practices of these four examplers there is enough guidance and means for humanity, endowed with boundless capacity, to make strides and arrive at the goal of the Millennium, and that for establishing the kingdom of God on the earth it is essential that the material civilization should go hand in hand with the spiritual advancement.

There is also another hint here that man has been created in «the best of forms» or as the mirror in which the image of Divine perfections in knowledge and deed should be reflected totally. But as the perfections of the Absolute Being are countless in number and boundless in quality, so they cannot be fully reflected by a few perfect individuals paying comet-like visits at long intervals to this planet. It will, therefore, be necessary that every member of the human race should be developed to perfection in body and soul through the knowledge of things as they are in reality and the moral conduct of life after the pattern of Adam, Moses, Jesus and Mohammad. When, through physical and spiritual development of mankind in general the corruption in the earth and the

shedding of blood therein will cease to exist, then and then alone every child of man, who is a potential Vicegerent of God on the earth, will become a real manifestation th[illegible]. That is what is called in the religious language the [illegible]ment of the kingdom of God on the earth. The realization of this most sublime ideal by the perpetual and diligent work will be the function of the Khilafet in the future, Hence the future Khalifs must be free from entanglements of politics and limitations of any family, tribal or national monopoly.

As to the centre of the Khilafet, if this question be solved on the lines suggested in these pages, no place could be more suited for it than Constantinople, for it is the ideal metropolis of any kind of world empire and it has been the spiritual centre since its foundation of two great religions. The city of the Prophet — Medina — could suit very well for all practical purposes. But the unsettled political state of the Hejaz and its dependence upon a non-Moslem power politically and economically would counsel to avoid such complications in these days of uncertainties all over the globe. Cairo comes, if Constantinople cannot be procured, as a Hobson's choice, but by no means lacking in associations and traditions with the glorious past. It had been the cradle of so many civilizations and the stage of so many empires. The Fatimite Khalifs reigned there with unusual splendour and enlightenment for nearly three hundred years (909—1171 a. d.). The Abbaside Khalifs after the Mongol conquest of Baghdad had taken refuge in the land of Egypt (1258—1538 a. d.). The Khilafet had really come from Cairo to Constantinople. If it goes from Constantinople to Cairo, it is going back h me.

To-day the Moslems of Egypt and the Moslems of India, who had learned some salubrious lessons under the taskmasters of the same Pharaoh, are the only people who could appreciate the importance of the khilafet's being a spiritual organization without any connec-

tion whatsoever with the temporal power. They alone can fully realize the significance of the Khalif's calling the nations of the earth to the unity of the Deity, the unity of humanity, the universal peace and the brotherhood of all men. Trusting on their sincere regard for Islam it is urgently hoped that they will leave no stone unturned to bring home to men, women and children in all Islamic countries the importance of the khilafet's being a spiritual organization, its new status in the future and its real connection with all communities of Islam in coming months through newspapers, pamphlets, books, messengers sent everywhere. Proper invitations should be sent to the learned men everywhere for attending the conference at Cairo in March 1925 for the election of the new Khalif for the whole Moslem world. If the representatives of the Moslem communities assemble at Cairo next year, elect the Khalif and become responsible for the maintenance of the sacred institution, it will mark a new era of life and activity for Islam, almost like the new era after the Hegira.

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